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FAMILY AND SOCIETY

A STUDY OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF RECONSTRUCTION

By

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

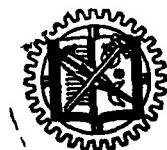
*Associate Professor of Sociology
at Harvard University*

and

MERLE E. FRAMPTON

*Director, Westminster Foundation, Inc.,
Boston, Mass.*

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WORK

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To

SOROKIN

Master of Sociology

This volume is dedicated



PREFACE

"Every art, and every science reduced to a teachable form, and in like manner every action and moral choice, aims, it is thought, at some good . . ." If there be good in this book, it is because it raises fundamental questions concerning the significance of present events and the recent course of American culture in relation to the family. We appear to want a different society. As a matter of fact our society seems changing rapidly whether we wish it or not. Must we create new family types or revive old ones? Can relief *families* be rehabilitated, or must relief *persons* be rehabilitated through a different family organization? Will industrial workers be better off merely decentralized, or should they be decentralized only in a different family type? Can the marginal farmer be moved without disturbing his familistic society? Do we wish or need familistic society in America? What rôle does the family play in the imminent phases of social change? Are there limits to individualist social organization which arise in family structure?

We do not answer these questions, but we raise them directly or inherently and suggest where the answers may lie. To find the answers we suggest some research hypotheses different from those upon which most present social thinking is based.

We have tried to do a scientific piece of work. We know that it is often held that pure science is only description. To meet this point of view we have tried to describe things as we see them. On the other hand, we recognize that descriptive science, if it is worth reading, has some implications for the life of man. We have not tried to hide the implications of this work behind a veil of undigested and sometimes ill-defined words.

The book does not cover all of social thinking but deals directly with the family to be the elementary social unit and the

basic problem of general sociology. We think that the student will be more fully informed in the long run if he studies a few social problems carefully than if he tries at once to digest a great number of formulations and concepts, most of which even the professional sociologists do not understand. At the same time it is a monograph based upon entirely original studies and should appeal to the reader who wishes to understand more fully the modern world. It represents original thinking, and is not a reproduction of valueless texts. The student who wants this type of thinking will find it here. The abridged translation of Volume I of Le Play's *Les ouvriers européens* makes available for the first time in English the essence of Le Play's sociological theory and method.

If this work succeeds in illustrating the need and the value of a different approach to the study of the basic problems of the family and is able to demonstrate its general empirical use in this time of violent crisis and reconstruction now facing America, we feel that our efforts will not have been in vain. "Science is the union of Knowledge and Intuition, and has for its objects those things which are most precious in their nature."

The authors are deeply indebted to the following agencies and individuals for assistance in many ways: to the Harvard Committee on Research in the Social Sciences for financial assistance for the study from the beginning; to the Elmhirst Committee of New York City for a generous gift to complete the Arkansas field studies; to the kindness of the officials of the research division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for help in the Massachusetts field studies; to Dr. E. C. Lindeman and Miss Anna Bogue of the Elmhirst Committee for valuable suggestions and warm interest in the progress of the study; to Professor John D. Black for sympathetic encouragement; to Professor Samuel Demptuis of Boston University for his careful technical translation of Volume I of *Les ouvriers européens* from which we made our summary; to Mrs. M. E. Frampton for her valuable assistance with the field work among the Arkansas Highland people; to Dr. Talcott Parsons, Dr. E. D. Tetreau, Mrs. J. J. Volkmann, Dr. C. A. Anderson, and Mr. John W. Boldyreff for suggestions

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C. C. Z.
M. E. F.

Cambridge, Massachusetts
January, 1935.

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PART I



Family and Society



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CHAPTER I

Family and Society

This work emphasizes the need for the greater development of methods of investigation which apply direct field observation as well as theoretical analysis to the problem of the relation between the social and economic orders and the human family. Frédéric Le Play gave the problem its greatest prominence by his studies in the period following the French Revolution of 1789. Since that time other methods of investigation and analysis have grown in popularity, submerging the type used by the Le Play School. Statisticians, cultural historians, and others now dominate public attention. This present work is a brief for the application of theories similar to those held by Le Play to the study of social facts. Illustrations of the value of a different approach are taken from problems of reconstruction now facing America.

Le Play was influenced by the troubles of Europe following the Revolution of 1789 and the Napoleonic wars. The ideas as to the future of Europe were vague. France had suffered in prestige and strength. Although Hegel had pointed the way for a new Germany, such had not been achieved. Many were the other uncertainties loosened in western society by the intellectual developments of the late seventeenth century.

The present period in American social and economic life is also one of change, of conflicting forces, and of momentous decisions made after little first-hand study, particularly of the real consequences of given social acts upon the family.

The present upheaval of conditions in America and the urbanized and industrialized societies of the western world is usually evaluated from several points of view, each of which suggests important alterations in family structure and family life. The disturbances may be regarded merely as readjustments due to one

of the periodic upheavals of business under high capitalism, or due to the conditions following the World War. They may be symptoms of a fundamental trend in the reorganization of the social system. They may be growing pains, slight pauses in the onward tendency of man toward greater material comfort purchased in the market places, toward a larger and more luxurious content of the consumer's basket, toward greater units of industrial organization for the individual factory as well as for the world at large, and toward the working out of the "destiny" of capitalism. Some who follow this point of view believe that the destiny of capitalism is to be achieved through rigid interference in all phases of life, such as a greater standardization of hours, wages, prices, practices, production and business ethics, and incomes and consumption. This regulation sooner or later involves the family both directly and indirectly. This school of thought uses the title "social planning." It holds that we are in the disturbed conditions which have prevailed since the war because *laissez faire* has failed. It denies, at least in part, the fundamental belief of many economists and sociologists that the industrial system is self-regulating.

According to many, the competitive system governs itself through the desire of each individual to improve his economic welfare. If wages are higher in one industry than in another, this means, other conditions being equal, that more workers than needed are employed in the one enterprise and fewer in the other. The transfer of the elements of production (land, labor, or capital) from one enterprise to another is supposed to operate according to a principle of movement from high economic pressure areas to lower ones until the pressure in all industries equalizes itself. Consequently, allowing for differences in the cost of transportation and living, men will tend to migrate from the low paid to the more highly paid enterprises until wages find the same level. In the same manner, if the profits of business in particular lines are higher than in others, capital will flow from one industry to another until the marginal industry in each type of production tends to yield about the same rate of profits. The thinkers who believe that the present condition in industrialized society is but

forms of human behavior. Since some of them consider that many processes of culture are functionally and mutually interrelated, then, according to their theories, no particular development of a major phase of society to a widely specialized position can be achieved without some development in other fields. Cyclical sociology views the present "social" problem partly as a search for the typological precedents derived from other apexes, almost identical with or just opposite from this. This study of cultural morphology is used to make the manifestations of change or "crises" clear. With this picture clearly in mind, they find in the present series of conditions a period of disturbance which means the gradual movement of a whole culture over toward another pathway. However, since these social scientists look upon the movements of large bodies as being slow, ponderous, and hesitating, they feel that high capitalism or "civilization," as Spengler calls our present culture, will hesitate in its course and be very confused before it begins to move slowly in another way. This is the point of view illustrated by Spengler's hypotheses in his *Decline of the West* and by the suggestions in W. Flinders-Petrie's *Revolutions in Civilization*.

One can accept blindly a solution to the problems of the American family and the familistic phases of culture for the next century by following one or another of these several hypotheses. Once the belief is accepted one can pick the arguments, the proofs, the predictions, and the lines of behavior which fit the situation. Theories can go forward logically and with a grand sweep of imagination toward the unravelling of what purports to be human destiny. For the present, the hypothesis will be popular with those who favor the proposed solution and unpopular with those who follow other solutions. Under any circumstances, the uncritical acceptance of any hypothesis will temporarily deaden the thought processes by setting up a frame of reference and decreasing receptivity to other alternatives.

Investigations along the lines of Le Play's approach to social problems may be used to test any of these major hypotheses. It is important that the investigator have immediate theories for

his analyses and that he use open-minded methods of investigation. If he shows willingness to let all the ascertainable facts share in the answer, he will find the family types of investigations helpful. Ultimately, all of these major hypotheses involve the relations between the family and the rest of society.

It is a generally accepted fact that the American family has been changing a great deal. Its present situation raises certain questions, the answers to which are vague. As W. F. Ogburn and many others have shown, during the early American period the family with its home was a domestic institution, a factory, and a well-integrated social institution. As a business, as well as a social unit, it not only protected but also disciplined its members. As an educational institution it instilled the religious beliefs necessary for facing the world. As a social institution it was a gathering place for play and recreation. Since then most of these functions have decreased. Those who hold that, within limits, any organization has more strength when it performs an increased number of functions view this change with great interest. Since many economic activities have moved away from the house toward the factory, the future of the family is considered uncertain. Many of the activities connected with consumption, such as the refining of food, and the making of furniture and clothing, have left the home. In a similar way the functions of protection, education, religious instruction, and recreation have developed in extra-family circles to a much greater extent than within the home. All of these changes have been associated with the decrease in the birth rate until in some circles more than two children per family are beginning to be considered unfortunate. The divorce rate has increased. Some contend that the family as an institution has weakened more than is reflected in the divorce rate, whereas others hold that divorce has nothing to do with the strength of the family institution.

Associated with these changes in the family has been the development of agencies for carrying on former family functions outside the home. Some call this "progress," while others question whether the extra-family institutions are as efficient as the

family itself. Education is carried on with some degree of efficiency by the school but certain investigators hint that the moral and motivating forms of education are not influenced greatly by the public school system.¹ The same applies to religious beliefs. The churches have grown as institutions, but skeptics maintain that it is extremely doubtful if social motivation is promoted as well by the church alone as it was when the church was an adjunct to a stronger family. These skeptics hold that the family seems to have the ability to give the individual child a system of beliefs which enables him to meet the world in a much more efficient manner than do the unaided teachings of the church. In the same way, it is held that the efficiency of other functions of the family, such as protection, economic discipline, mutual aid, and so on, has not increased with the high development of extra-family agencies.

The advocates of the "new family," on the other hand, consider these claims as of no great significance. They believe that personality reaches its greatest development when the family concentrates its entire strength on "affection," leaving education to the schools, religious teaching to the church, protection to the state, and support to industry or the state. They hold that specialized institutions can perform these needed services better than the antiquated family régime of the past. They doubt if there is any real basis for the alarm of the skeptics.

We are forced to the conclusion that we do not know what has been the influence of these changes on the family. An answer to the question is very much desired at this time. If society is functionally related to the family, as many observers since Confucius have contended, a change in the family may be associated with other changes in the social structure. If, on the other hand, the functional relations between the family and the rest of society are unimportant or insignificant, changes may go on in other lines of endeavor without regard to the family. If this is so, then we wish to know the relations between the family and its members. No matter how one looks at the present family, the need for studies based on the Le Play hypothesis seem very desirable.

¹ For instance, Hartshorne and May's studies of character.

Close to the family is the population question. The American population has followed practically the same trend as some other western nations in that the rate of increase has been declining for the last ninety years, and in the last decade or so the actual increase in numbers has fallen steadily and rapidly. A number of statistical estimates have been made as to its future growth, but the results disagree. According to Thompson and Whelpton, America will have between 140 and 148 million in 1950 and between 145 and 190 million in 1980. The minimum estimate holds that the population will reach its greatest size (around 146 million) by about 1970 and subsequently decline. Thompson and Whelpton both hold the view that the population by 1980 will be much nearer to the minimum figure of 145 million than it will be to the maximum of 190 million.²

The chief factor associated with the decline in the rate of growth of the population has been the decreasing birth rate. As Thompson and Whelpton say, "The birth rate has been declining in the United States since 1810, hence it seems more likely that it will continue to decline until 1970 rather than become stationary in 1945, as the maximum [estimate of growth] assumes."³ Since procreation is one of the functions of the family, the decline or growth of population may be affected fundamentally by the trends within the family. Consequently, any prediction has to be based either upon the assumption that the family will continue according to its present trend or will change in an undetermined fashion. If the family is a basic social organization which does not appear and disappear according to the type of society but fluctuates rather between extremes of strength and weakness, as many suggest, the problem needs study.

The importance of family trends lies to a considerable extent in the fact that our present industrial system is claimed to be keyed up to a growing volume of consumption. This was held to mean an increased number of consumers and a growing volume of consumption for each. As Thompson and Whelpton put it,

² *Recent Social Trends*, Vol. I, Chapter I, New York, 1933.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

"In the past there has been a widespread belief that a rapidly growing population was one of the essential conditions of progress." A decreasing or a stable population forces any increased consumption to be done by the present numbers. Just what influence this has had upon family life is hard to say. As yet we have insufficient data to understand fully the influence of consumption upon general family life.

One of the important family and population factors in an economy such as ours is that of urbanization. The trend has been toward greater proportions of the population in or close to cities. The non-farm groups living outside of cities, a considerable proportion of whom act as intermediaries between the city and the country, have been growing. In 1930 of approximately 123 million people, about 30 million were on farms, about 25 million were in rural districts but not on farms, and about 68 million were in towns and cities above 2500 in population. This is part of a general movement which has been under way for some time.

It is often held that urbanization meant social progress, and many persons came to believe that the trend would continue endlessly. It was thought that as much as nine-tenths of the population would eventually find their hopes in the city. The food supply would be furnished by approximately a tenth of the population operating large scale farms by machine methods.

In the midst of these beliefs, new factors have appeared in the situation. These are often described as the human limitations upon the size of the city. Some cities grew so large that the physical cost of taking care of their populations increased disproportionately to the increase in the population. With each new increase in population, the real cost of living is held to have tended to rise more rapidly in proportion. This relatively more rapid increase in the physical cost of social existence may be illustrated by statements such as "The water consumption of a community increases at a greater rate than that at which the population grows."⁴ "To put it in the raw, city dwellers must pay heavily in labor power and money merely to get out of each others

⁴ See *America's New Frontier*, Chicago, 1929, p. 31.

way."⁵ Or as Professor McClintock has shown, city registrations of motor vehicles are not limited by the capacity of the people to purchase automobiles, but by the inability of the individual in many urban areas to secure a justifiable satisfaction from its use.⁶ To meet these resistances, the population began to increase in urban areas, or agglomerations of small cities, rather than in large cities. Such regions as these are found in New England or between New Haven and New York City. The whole area is one series of small cities.

However, traffic congestion and increased costs of living were not the only limits which increasing urbanization approached. The population developed a greater emphasis on the psychological factor which Durkheim characterizes as *l'anomie*. Individuals tended to become lost in their vast secondary social *milieus* so that the increase of individual vitality needed to surmount the difficulties in life was held to bring about a decrease in social vitality. The individual became so interested in living for the present that he was unwilling, at least temporarily, to contribute to the future upbuilding of the population. This was in spite of the fact that the material standard of living was higher than ever before. Furthermore, the division of labor became so complex that the welfare of any particular individual depended upon a great number of circumstances seemingly beyond his understanding and control. Fluctuations in the business cycle began to dominate the lives and welfare of millions of individuals when they became subjected to this "disease of high capitalism." In spite of high production, either actual or potential, in most lines of human endeavor, the system does not appear to work. For the present at least, many individuals do not seem able to secure by their own efforts the goods necessary for their livelihood. The automobile worker can still make automobiles and the farmer can still grow wheat, but the farmer is unable to change the wheat for automobiles and *vice versa*. The situation has become very

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26 and 31.

⁶ See Miller McClintock's chapter in *The Metropolitan Community*, New York, 1933.

complex. Steps have been taken but many hold that at least some of the "remedies" have only made the situation worse. Consequently, in spite of the seeming potential capacity for urbanization to proceed more and more, we find the present situation somewhat the opposite. Some hold that physical, economic, and psychological resistances are overpowering the other factors of increased urbanization. Others say the present trend to stay on the farm is but a short cessation of a normal movement toward the city which will be reversed as soon as the present temporary depression is over.

Thus, when we consider urbanization, we are also somewhat in a quandary. Some reasons suggest that it may continue in its earlier trend after a slow slight reversal during the depression. Others suggest that it may have a cyclical reversal in which the lack of security in the industrial system will be compensated for by a greater development of agriculture and rural life.

This would bring about ruralization of certain conditions of life and, perhaps, lead to an increase of part-time farming. Finally, the change may be unpredictable and catastrophic because of new inventions, new ways of doing things and of living, and the general conflict among the forces which have hitherto guided the social system. Our chief difficulty is that we cannot predict the future; hence the need for caution. Under any circumstances, the family and the general standard of living will change radically. Greater guarantees of the safety of the family and of the continuity of a given level of living are demanded. We ask these things without understanding how to secure them. Some hold that the great psychological transformations which we see in the present world eventually may cause many to welcome an economy which is simpler, but which offers more safeguards for the family and living. Others are rushing madly about in an attempt to make society more complex. Under any circumstances a more careful study of the relations between each social fact and the family is desirable.

Along with these changes influencing the family, there have been alterations of belief. Every social system has beliefs which

make it "work," some of which are inculcated in religious systems. These social forces are found in the general ideas of *right* and *wrong*, and *good* and *bad*. Is it proper to respect public property? Should one contribute to the support of his aged parents? Should an unsupervised worker voluntarily give his full energy to his employer? Should a commercial relationship involve a form of loyalty not specified or specifiable in a contract? Should a worker have his employer's full interest at heart and *vice versa*? These are some of the questions which show the significance of the rôle of belief in an economic and social system. Every question has many grades of answers depending upon the type and rigidity of beliefs in a society.

Beliefs tend to maintain the social order. Some say that complex and dynamic societies require more powerful beliefs in order to function than do simpler societies. The efficiency of a society seems closely connected with its beliefs. A large industrialized society probably needs a more virile system of belief than a smaller agricultural one. The amount of social belief in a society is often thought to be in some sense a measure of its strength and general importance. Others look with hope for a fully "rationalized" society in which reason will replace belief.

Human society differentiates itself from an amorphous horde by rules, regulations, beliefs, and attachments which give a limited amount of regularity, predictability, and systemization to behavior. Attachments and beliefs go together. Laws or written rules and regulations define the expected behavior. Men believe that they should marry and rear families. They believe it is their duty to bring children into the world. Once these children are in the world, the parents are charged with their support and discipline in the inhibitions of their social system. The children in most cases believe that they should help their parents if unusual conditions necessitate it. Parents generally believe that the family accumulations of property should go to their children according to a specific system of inheritance. Men believe that they owe a duty to their national government, and they pass laws, pay taxes, render service, and even give their lives to uphold it. They be-

lieve that most expenditures of effort should be recompensed by payments in economic goods. These payments are generally spent upon others more than upon self. Men believe that they should support systems of behavior and institutions which strengthen and reinforce the ethical practices under which their social system works. Belief appears to play a fundamental rôle in social motivation.

Man's need for supernatural explanations of the universe varies according to his condition of life. In times of reduced economic circumstances and in crises causing great individual or group danger or suffering, a greater fund of supernaturalism seems necessary to motivate the individual to unusual forms of behavior. At any time in the mysterious paths of life one may be in a situation when voluntary individual death seems necessary for the continued working of the social system. For example, when a boat begins to sink, certain social rules require a selection of individuals for the safest positions in the life boats rather than the appropriation of these places by the most rapid and the strongest. At other times, such as in battle, men are classified into disposable and indisposables groups according to a different set of principles. Some must be in the front of the attack to receive the bullets, the gas, and the bayonets, and others must stay in the rear to guide and direct the forces. These illustrations show the rôle which beliefs play in a society. Men must steel themselves to face the inevitable.

One can see that the fund of belief is generally greater than the average need in prosperous and settled conditions of life. Consequently, a long swing of generally increasing prosperity may breed a decrease in the effectiveness of the beliefs of a society, since beliefs maintain themselves primarily through practice. When men are prosperous, they tend to become careless. Consequently, ages of increasing material prosperity tend to sap the psychological foundations of a social system. Ages of prosperity are periods of seeming increase in social sophistication because the people appear able to meet most of the exigencies of individual life ~~to~~ other practices. Inability to meet the trials of life may

arise from those weakened foundations of the individual. Great upheavals in the social system bring suffering and general disorders in which the individual is unprepared to make an adjustment. Psychologically, the individual has become softened. These great upheavals in prosperous societies find many individuals in precarious situations in which the only principles upon which they can judge their behavior are those found in the blind desire for temporary individual safety. Thus, we may see conditions of extreme social disorder in periods in which order is more necessary than ever. The sailors may swamp the lifeboats in a blind rush for safety and the generals have to lead the troops in the front line in order to inspire a few with a willingness to carry forward the objectives of the particular battle.

Opposed to this theory is the idea, very popular in the eighteenth and particularly in the nineteenth centuries, that institutionalized belief is an opiate which prevents needed social change. Many intellectuals seek to eliminate the institutions based upon "belief" from the social system because they believe that these institutions prevent the individual from reaching his great social destiny. "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains." Others claim that these institutions are but superstructures erected upon beliefs necessary for the social system. The reformers tend to destroy "belief" because to them these dogmas are but debris which litter up the workshops of mankind. To the other these beliefs are but part of a large mass of practices which must be present in order to secure the most workable social adjustments in times of crises.

Characteristic of industrialized societies of the present time is the steady but sure decline in the strength of institutions which preserve historical dogmatism. Intellectual history shows a growth of "new" ideas during this period. Inquiries into these beliefs, such as those by James H. Leuba, show this decline in historical dogmatism thoroughly. In the latter Middle Ages, men were often-times put to the rack if they questioned the slightest practices of the current dogmatism. Now many of the highest paid hold their positions largely through their seeming adroitness in exp^{ly}aining

life without references to tradition. This raises the question whether this movement towards agnosticism has perhaps reached its height. Will it recede or can it go further? Are men now prepared by their immersion in belief to meet the predictable exigencies of life? Can we go further in the apparent rationalization of every practice in human life and still leave the individual with sufficient naïveté to maintain the social order? Has our economic system become so strong that it can remedy most of the suffering of social crises by rational forms of behavior? Do we need a strong family to inculcate historical creeds and dogmas into our people? On these questions the thinking world is divided sharply into two groups.

The intelligentsia in America apparently believe that the trends toward rationalization of the social system can continue. To a number of sociologists, the present existence of many beliefs is but a "lag" in a movement toward a more perfect rationalistic order. Others with a different explanation of belief and dogma take an opposite point of view. A realistic fact is the continued appearance in many parts of industrial society, particularly since the great World War, of strongly integrated and violent movements toward historical dogmatism. Many of the movements widely discussed today are expressions, some even violent, of a resurgence of this dogmatic mysticism. The apparent movement toward nationalism as opposed to internationalism is an expression of this resurgence. A general study of these movements seems to indicate that many are violent expressions of a search for some type of values in life, the net results of which might be, at least temporarily, contrary to the general trend of the individualistic family and standard of living in the nineteenth century. The leaders of these movements justify themselves by dogmatic appeals to theories of history. Many of these theories are contrary to what appears to have been the nineteenth century trend in beliefs in many countries. The leadership in these movements has come from classes which have not ruled their respective countries for some time. The classes which formerly dominated these civilizations are now out of power. Many of these movements empha-

size anti-intellectualism and anti-rationalism, as these two concepts were concurrently defined in their respective civilizations before the movements. This raises the question, Will such movements spread in America? If they are inherent in the impact of industrialism upon the individual, may they not be created also by our economic order? If they are not inherent in the capitalistic order, might they not spread from one country to another because of their interrelations? If such violent and unpredictable movements spread further than at present in America, what will they do to the mechanistic, free-enterprise standard of living and to the loosely organized family produced by the economic rationalism of the nineteenth century? Can we have "belief" without a certain family type? What rôle does the family play in society?

The problems of the present society are also involved as to the relation of public groups to the family and to the individual. In the conditions preceding the present period in America, private social work, which is organized to influence the family and the individual, has grown rapidly. Private organizations constantly incite the development of governmental efforts along the same line. As S. H. Walker concludes in the study of privately supported social work in *Recent Social Trends*, "social legislation, surveys and investigations, and the development of activities of preventive and constructive nature have been promoted by social work for at least twenty years."

The conclusion is finally reached as follows:

The trend which is most important in marking the probable future developments in social welfare is the absorption of activities as a part of public administration in increasing number and at accelerated rate.⁷

Informal, semi-governmental social work has grown rapidly in the last quarter of a century. As a matter of fact, the number of persons receiving relief and the expenditures for relief have grown more rapidly than the population. The growth in the

⁷ *Recent Social Trends*, Vol. 2, New York, 1933, p. 1222.

number of private social work cases has been held down by the fact that many have been transferred to official public sources of relief. This has been compensated by an increasing amount of relief given to individuals. The attitude of tiding recipients over has begun to disappear, and "adequate" family budgets are now used.

In 1930 the census showed more than 31,000 official social workers in America in addition to more than 31,000 religious social workers. The 62,000 workers exclude all keepers of charitable and penal institutions and all public probation and truant officers. The number of paid workers in private social work has been growing more rapidly than the population. Private social agencies in New York received more than \$45,000,000 in 1929. The 350 American foundations, many connected with some form of social work, include in their assets a great amount of wealth. The twenty largest had approximately \$858,000,000 in assets in 1931. That same year 377 Community Chests in America raised and spent more than \$83,000,000. During 1928 social agencies in the fields of health, dependency, and delinquency raised and spent approximately \$10 per capita for the total population of ten medium sized American cities. From 1922 to 1929 inclusive the total contributions for charitable and public purposes reported in federal and state income tax returns amounted to 5.2 billion dollars. Most of these expenditures influence the family. These 62,000 social workers in 1930 came into contact with many more thousands of families and individuals, and yet we really do not have a scientific theory of the relation between the family and the rest of society.

Public welfare activities also have grown, changing the relation of the public groups to the individual and to the family. Even in the pre-depression period such governmental activities, now widely expanded by the depression, were increasing more rapidly than the increase in numbers in population. As H. W. Odum says, "public welfare has developed from an incidental, haphazard, irregular activity to a regular, full fledged 'standard' function of government tending more and more to become inte-

grated into the government structure."⁸ He adds further, "The most significant developments have come since 1917, although they are cumulative from earlier years."⁹ The ideals and practices for social work and public welfare activities have also changed from former concepts to those which involve a greater expenditure of money. Paupers once boarded out to the lowest bidder are now treated in special homes and by supervised outdoor relief. Orphans who were once sent to institutions or were boarded out are now given segregated care and vocational treatment in scientific home placement. In cities having a population of more than thirty thousand, the per capita expenditures for social welfare, the 1913 expenditure being taken as 100, have increased from an index of 70 in 1903 to 279 in 1928. In spite of the fact that public welfare expenditures "are small compared with total costs of government," we must reckon with the fact that they increased from 263 million in 1903 to 1,293 million in 1928. "The per capita public welfare expenditures of the federal government increased by 167 percent between 1913 and 1928, which was a higher percentage of gain than that of any other governmental unit . . . The per capita expenditures of cities [although already comparatively high in 1913], moreover, grew more rapidly than those of any other division of government during the five years from 1923 to 1928."¹⁰ The movements toward old age, unemployment, and health insurance, and toward the development of workmen's compensation is a measure of tendencies toward a still further increase of these expenditures. All such are presumably based upon theories of the family, and under any circumstances will influence the family greatly. Increased welfare expenditures are but part of a general movement which involves a change in the relationships between the individual and family, and the family and the rest of the society. The growth of the government group is similar to that of corporations and the industrial groups from the beginning of the factory system through the period of industrial mergers and holding companies.

⁸ *Recent Social Trends*, Vol. II, New York, 1933, p. 1224.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1225.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1260.

Governmental expenditures formed 9.17 percent of the estimated national realized income in 1915, 12.08 percent in 1923, and 12.44 percent in 1928. Since that time the national realized income has taken a decided slump, and the expenditures by the political units have grown decidedly. The upward movement in public expenditures has been in every field of government in spite of the fact that the movement of realized income has been limited practically to increases in the urban communities. Farmers whose incomes following the war moved back to pre-war levels have been paying taxes based upon post-war increases. Whereas taxation increased from approximately \$23 per capita in 1913 to about \$84 per capita in 1930, increases in income were neither proportional nor so widespread. Taxation has not grown as rapidly as public expenditures, which simply means that the public debt has increased and the proportion of public funds used for the purposes of interest has mounted rapidly.

The question arises as to whether this is a temporary war measure or a general trend involving a new society with different relations between the family and other society. While there is no doubt that the war had a great deal to do with increasing the per capita tax burden, yet the increase since 1915 must be reckoned fundamentally only as a more rapid development of a general trend in the per capita tax burden of America. This movement has been steadily upward since 1880 and, if we eliminate a slight recession following the civil war, began early in the history of the nation. In 1860 the average family of five paid less than \$25 taxation, but by 1930 this amount had grown to approximately \$420.

The chief increases in expenditure have been for the costs of war, of the more complex school systems, of public roads, and of city governments. The last three influence the family directly. The significance of the movement is to be measured also by the number of families of public employees in the United States. These increased from 1,870,000 to 2,819,000 between 1913 and 1927. Thus, in 1927 it took half as many workers to run the government as it did to run our farms. Less than six million

farm families that year harvested 359 million acres of crops and managed the other economic enterprises on 200 million acres of pasture and other types of farm land. The less than six million heads of families on farms fed the American nation and produced an export surplus which is claimed to have swamped the world's markets. As a matter of fact the chief productivity was from the three million commercialized farms (producing for sale). A new social class has grown rapidly. What will the movement mean for the social foundations of the family? Is an entirely new concept of the relation of the individual to the social order appearing, in which the individual changes from family organization to allegiance and dependence upon public groups?

One factor in these increasing welfare developments is our great social mobility. As Sorokin says, "Our society is a mobile society *par excellence*." An intensive shifting of individuals from position to position and a great circulation of social objects in horizontal and in vertical directions are probably the most important characteristics of contemporary western society.¹¹ In his subsequent analysis of social mobility, Sorokin reaches the conclusion that it makes behavior more plastic and versatile, that it tends to increase mental train and mental diseases, that it increases superficiality by decreasing the sensitiveness of the nervous system, and adds to the amount of skepticism, cynicism, and misoneism ("that instinctive, invincible aversion to progress," or the "avoidance of all theories which only aggravate the perplexities of life"¹²). Mobility also diminishes intimacy and increases *anomie* in the sense in which Durkheim has used that term. It throws the individual upon secondary rather than primary group life.) It facilitates the disintegration of morals on the one hand, and leads to an increase in intellectual life and to the more rapid distribution of the population into its more favorable economic combinations on the other. Too great a development of mobility is also supposed to reduce the longevity of a particular culture complex. As Sorokin puts it, "Mobility is a factor

¹¹ Sorokin, Pitirim, *Social Mobility*, New York, 1927, preface.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 521.

which shortens the longevity of a culture complex, weakens its continuity and facilities its disintegration and through this, the long existence of a society or social institution.”¹³

The problem of social mobility in relation to the American family and life has become particularly acute during the depression. So many persons claim to have no real home that the federal government has had to take care of them if they are needy. Transient camps have been set up all over the country. What will happen in the future no one can tell. It is evident that a new type of man is appearing in the society. The social organization is no longer what it was. Many of our earlier conclusions concerning social organization may have to be revised.

The evidence for this appears in the growing number of persons and families depending for their living upon the public and semi-public agencies. On this Pitkin takes a pessimistic view and holds that this is a part of a general change in the economic morale of the people.

“An astonishing multitude of men are unwilling or unable to accept responsibilities in our industrial system. Competent investigators find that not more than 5% or 6% of all workingmen in typical American factories are temperamentally inclined to become foremen or junior executives; the remaining 94% or 95% refuse to accept opportunities of this kind and frankly prefer an increase of wages at their old jobs or a shorter workday. This limits the evolution of their standards of living, especially after their thirtieth year.”¹⁴

Whether or not what Pitkin says is true, we must recognize that in 1928, before the depression, there were millions of families in America who depended upon the government (federal, state, and local). Two percent of all reported incomes over \$5000, 3.1 percent of all reported incomes under \$5000, and 4.4 percent of the net values of all estates probated in America were given for charitable and somewhat similar purposes in 1928. Of the two

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 537.

¹⁴ Pitkin, Walter B., *The Consumer*, New York, 1932, p. 177.

billion dollars of income used for these expenses that year, probably at least one billion, or fifty percent, went for charity. If we allow \$500 per family, which is the average income of the lower 14 percent of the families in 1928 according to W. I. King, two million families or eight million people must have lived largely by subsidies from governmental and private charity. Furthermore, we must add to this figure a minimum of nine million persons who are governmental employees or supported by them.¹⁵ This gives us seventeen million or about one-seventh of the population who were so supported even in the 1928 prosperity. What has happened since then is of course too well known for us to discuss here.

Thus, when we view dispassionately our present society and its philosophy, we see that it has produced a number of problems to which there are only discordant and conflicting answers. One of the limiting economic factors is complexity. The growth of the city has increased the division of labor so that the area of mechanical interaction among producers and consumers has become exceedingly great and exceedingly complex. This is to be measured by the decrease in self-sufficing production and by the increase in proportions of incomes received as money. The individual who receives only a money income does not directly produce his consumer's-goods but produces things which are sold in the market and traded for his consumer's-goods. Thus, each individual becomes so specialized that his only knowledge of the entire productive processes of life depends to a great degree on what he sees in the market place. The individual becomes increasingly susceptible to influences over which he has an exceedingly limited amount either of knowledge or control. A farmer faced with a crop shortage can replant his grain. If the spring rains fail him, the frosts may be delayed in the fall. If the blight strikes his grain crop, he can redouble his energy in the potato field. If the grass fails, the leaves may be collected for cattle feed. If

¹⁵ According to W. I. King, there were 2,819,000 public employees in America in 1927. If each one of these employees supports $2\frac{1}{2}$ persons in addition to himself, this accounts for 10 million. We deduct a million to be conservative.

the leaves are short, he may butcher the cattle at once. Although the farmer faces the treacherous forces of nature, he has considerable personal influences in securing at least a minimum for existence from the totality of his efforts.

The city worker, on the other hand, can neither see nor do much about his position. Great swings in the business cycle take place, making him a victim of forces that he neither fully understands nor can entirely combat. His health is good, he wants to work, he needs money, but can do very little. The factory is there and people need shoes but they cannot buy them. The bakery stands ready to supply the needed bread for the people but since the shoe factory cannot pay wages, the bread cannot be bought. The bakery employee and the wheat farmer are mechanically bound up to the shoe industry, but none of them can understand the processes or do anything to remedy the situation.

These complex processes are found in all trading economies. They have their values as well as their disadvantages. Without them, the material standard of living is limited largely by the opportunities of the region and by the intellectual versatility of the worker. With them the individual secures many articles which he consumes, each of which is produced by an expert. The average individual may have little versatility but he is generally capable of carrying on the process with a fair amount of artistic efficiency. When the products of these specialists are put together, we find that the average individual who buys his consumer's-goods secures a group of items made beyond the possibilities of his own efforts. The worker can have a radio, white flour, broadcloth shirts, tooth-brushes, and hundreds of items which no single individual can produce by himself.

However, their existence creates certain human problems, most of which are reflected in family life. When the economic *anomie* is combined with a social *anomie* so that the individual is incapable of turning to his family, his other relatives, or his friends more fortunately situated, the individual feels blocked. This blocking is met for a while by a certain degree of passivity by the worker. "Good times are just around the corner." The worker

lives on his reserves, aided by forms of private and public charity. If the situation continues, however, the reserves disappear, and public and private charity (which depends upon the income and wealth of the taxpayer and of others now reduced to penury by the same system) tends to become limited. The worker becomes tired of living on a reduced budget. His unemployed time drags heavily. His normal outlets in life are closed for him. He becomes a prey to various ideas and explanations of the depression. The consequent tampering with the social system may increase the sufferings or cure the depression. Under any circumstance the social system is changed.

Thus, a consideration of a few factors shows that we are in a transitory period. Divided forces and opinions sweep our life and mental horizons. Traditional approach to our problems does not seem to point to the future course of the twentieth century. We can only see that opinion is divided in every field. One is amazed at the complexity of the problem. Different methods of observation may not tell us any more than we know now. But at least it will be a worthwhile experiment to quicken the jaded senses of social scientists surfeited with traditional methodology. It may enable us to approach the remainder of the twentieth century with a versatility of mind which will at least be refreshing. In the succeeding chapters we take up the approach to social problems by Frédéric Le Play and try to show that his general assumptions and methods are the new approach to the problem which is needed at this time.

CHAPTER II

A New Approach in Family Research

The previous chapter pointed out the general problem of the present American family. That search for an answer resolves itself into a series of sub-problems. In the first place, social conditions have so changed that whatever previous knowledge we may have had of family sociology needs new interpretation in the light of circumstances which have undergone radical change. Secondly, we have created to deal directly with the relationships between the individual, the family, and the larger society, agencies of such scope that a thorough family sociology is not only desirable but necessary. Finally, the very ramifications of social change involve so many conflicting forces that students of sociology are concluding that either an entirely new family is needed or a revival of a type of family which has been on the wane in modern society for some time. Some hold that limiting circumstances in present culture are forcing us to revive the old strong family type.

In order to demonstrate the need for a fresh approach to family sociology, let us review briefly the previous hypotheses in family investigations. Then by a contrast with the hypotheses proposed in this work, one can judge the value of the Le Play methods.

The dominant note in early family research was social evolution. Social evolution was supposed to parallel physical evolution. To this was added later a second hypothesis, that of cultural interrelatedness. Each new economic system was claimed to demand a new type of family. Therefore, one could measure the immediate goal of the social evolution of the family by the amount of adaptation of the family to the contemporary order. If the family was not adapted to the contemporary scheme of things, then it lagged behind the evolution which had taken place in other phases of social life. Finally, most of research concerning the

human family entered a third stage: the consideration of the value of the family's contribution to individualistic desires as the sole measure of family well-being. (The success of the evolution of the family in relation to changes in society was measured by whether the organization fitted into individualistic—not family—patterns.) We shall call these three respectively the *evolutionary*, the *functional*, and the *companionate* hypotheses.

[A fourth idea developed particularly among the social workers is that the family is primarily an agency for the control of society. The advocates of this position wish to use the family to help eliminate as far as possible the dependent, the defective, and the delinquent classes from public charge, or at least to leave the unfortunate individuals partly under the supervision of their families aided by public funds and supervision. Such a theory of the family is given an excellent illustration in the work by M. C. Elmer.¹ He maintains that he is not upholding either the point of view that the family is an unchanging sacred institution or that the family should be continually adapted to new situations, but rather that he is attempting to find out what the family is doing, "how it is functioning as an agency of social control, and in what manner it is being adjusted to meet new situations created by social change." The chief contribution which Elmer makes lies in pointing out the relationships between the social work groups and the family. This is an extremely worthwhile type of approach, but since, at least avowedly, it contains no theory of the family similar to those inherent in the evolutionary, the functional, and the companionate hypotheses, we are not going to discuss it further. It should be pointed out, however, that Elmer does emphasize the idea that the family is a basic social institution, and to that extent he makes his analysis a functional approach. At the same time, he falls back on the evolutionary theory to explain the development of the family and to that extent closely parallels the idea popularized by Ogburn that the decline in functions of the institution has helped to promote an inner something (Ogburn calls it affection; Elmer calls it "sublimated love," "true affection," and

¹ *Family Adjustment and Social Change*, New York, 1932.

"comradeship") not previously as well developed in the family.

The reader should recognize that we are discussing specifically modern hypotheses of the family rather than earlier works which give general dogmatic prescriptions concerning family organization. For instance, the Laws of Manu in early Hindu times had among others the following general types of discussions and rules about family organization.

Who could marry with a low caste (Sûdra) female.

Intermarriages of caste.

Intermarriage without caste.

The sin of intermarrying with wicked people.

How to acquire an excellent wife from a base family.

The standing of wives of different castes.

The marriages of cripples, idiots, eunuchs, and outcasts.

The rating of children of wives from different castes.

The confusion of caste which arises through forbidden marriages.

Why a faithful man should marry a faithful woman.

The proper age of marriage.

Remarriage after death of a partner.

The law of divorce.

The persons to whom a girl may be given in marriage.

What happens when one unjustly forsakes a wife or family.

How often may a girl be given in marriage.

Betrothals when the bride is blemished or unblemished.

The proper rites of marriage.

Unlawful marriage rites.

Marriage by purchase.

The dowry of a bride.

Prohibiting the sale of daughters.

The position of a child or a remarried woman.

The law of remarriage of widows and virgin brides.

The low estimation of remarried women.

The duty of householders to marry.

Who may be a mate to a king.

Upon whom should a king bestow his daughters in marriage.

A father's duty to give his daughter in marriage.

A maiden is allowed to choose her husband if her relatives neglect to marry her.

How to choose a wife.

The order in which brothers and sisters must marry.

What may happen when one mate keeps a secret from another at time of marriage.

Family sacrifices to consecrate marriage.

The eugenics of marriage.

A perfect family.

Relations between husband and wife, and parents and children.²

Such discussions as these, which are to be found all through the Sacred Books of Hinduism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Jainism, Parseeism, and in the Hebrew Old Testament, seldom enter into works of the modern period. Our discussion is directed at the so-called modern texts which deal with the family either directly or incidentally from the scientific point of view. Among such writers, we may mention for illustrative purposes Henry Sumner Maine, J. J. Bachofen, John Ferguson McLennan, Lewis H. Morgan, Sir John Lubbock, A. Giraud-Teulon, Friederich Engels, Auguste Bebel, and Maksim Kovalesky. These are mainly nineteenth century authors but most of the recent writers upon the family hold similar points of view.

THE EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

The chief contention underlying this hypothesis is that man as a physical animal has been evolving along with his basic form of social organization during historical and pre-historical periods. The evolutionary hypothesis goes even further and contends that the family has evolved even within the stage since man appeared as a thinking animal as he is at present. Thus, the early or primitive man had one type of family, later barbaric man another, and finally the modern individual a new type. This leads to thought on what is supposed to be just emerging—the family of the future.

It is not our purpose to pass any judgment on physical evolution. We are concerned primarily with the theory that the family has changed progressively in the history (or pre-historical times) of the human species. In essence this is the basic hypothesis of

² See *The Laws of Manu*, Volume 25 of the Sacred Books of the East edited by Max Müller.

most writers on the family. A few illustrations will show its significance in the greater part of the thinking upon the subject. This general theory may be summarized as follows.

First there was the stage of more or less pure individualism, during which time man had all the physical and inherent mental characteristics of the present time, but in which his family organization and his social organization generally was similar to that of an undifferentiated or amorphous horde. Concerning conditions at that particular time, very little is said but all of the writers hypothecate or infer an evolutionary series with this as the opposite of what is supposed to be our present family life. From this undifferentiated horde, theorists say, the family began to arise by various methods. Sir John Lubbock held with Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan, and many others that the first stage was communal marriage.

Bachofen, McLennan, and Morgan, the most recent authors who have studied this subject, all agree that the primitive conditions of man, socially, was one of pure Hetaerism, when marriage did not exist, or, as we may perhaps for convenience call it, of Communal marriage, where all the men and women in a small community were regarded as equally married to one another.³

Most of the other theorists picture a pre-family state as existing but few describe it so that the picture that they give must be pieced out by implication. Out of the situation our present family arose according to a number of different methods. The most interesting theory is that by Bachofen.⁴ He held that a system of kinship through females preceded the rise of kinship through males. He held that in their inherent natures women were nobler and more sensitive than men. They became disgusted with the primitive communism in sex affairs and introduced marriage into the early societies. Bachofen evidently believes that primitive

³ Lubbock, Sir John, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*, London, 1870, 2nd ed., p. 77.

⁴ Bachofen was a Swiss jurist who published a large volume entitled *Das Mutterrecht* (Stuttgart, 1861). The following analysis was taken from this work, from J. F. McClellan's *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1886, and from Giraud-Teulon's *La mère*.

women were more Amazonian than many of our moderns because they apparently used force backed by their religious aspirations to introduce something akin to monogamy.

The importance of Amazonianism, as opposed to Hetaerism, for the elevation of the feminine sex, and through them of mankind, cannot be doubted.

In this condition women ruled the families, the children were named after their mothers, and all the rights of succession and inheritance came through the female line. Women not only had domestic supremacy but also political control.

However, Bachofen did not develop the remainder of his theory logically and that is what makes it particularly interesting. Most of the other evolutionary theories of the family not only twist and select the facts to meet their preconceived system, but also arrange them in an order that seems to prove that evolution leads gradually to our present family. Bachofen, however, who was writing before the evolutionary theory of the family became the dominant idea in family sociology, claims that once religion has fostered the cause of women in the development of the family, it eventually becomes the agent for unseating women in their supremacy.

What was gained through religion was destined to be lost through it. The loss came in the Greek area through Dionysos promulgating that fatherdom alone was divine—the father the only true parent, the mother a *nurse* merely. The women at first opposed this new gospel, and fresh Amazonian risings were the common feature of their opposition. But the resistance was ineffectual, and the women, presently becoming converts to the new idea, were, after that, its warmest supporters. Their support cost them less in position than might have been expected, for Bacchanalian excesses, restoring in a measure the ancient hetaerism, laid afresh the basis of gynaikocracy. It was before a very different and modern religious thought that gynaikocracy was destined to disappear.

For it was a pure celestial thought that promoted pure practices only, and so was destructive of hetaerism, and all that was founded thereon. Fathers now took the first places

in the family and the state; children were named after them; and all relationships to which rights of succession attached were traced through fathers only: the "motherless" Athene became the symbol of the overthrow of motherdom and of gynaikocracy. Not that the cause of mothers ceased to be the subject of farther conflicts. There was, indeed, a succession of these, between the principles of various creeds, before the fruits of the victory of fatherdom were securely garnered. When the final triumph came, it was determined by an influence outside the domain of religion—namely, the all-powerful authority of the Roman jurisprudence.⁵

The most logical theory that appeared among the early evolutionary thinkers was that developed by Lewis H. Morgan.⁶ Morgan held that the family developed from a state of primitive communism to a higher, *i.e.* monogamous form, through the reduction in the range of the conjugal system. He measured social evolution of the family almost entirely upon the principle of the reduction in the proportion of the opposite sex with which a man could have legitimate sex relationships at the same time. The first step in evolution he described as the consanguine family in which conjugal relationships were reduced to the intermarriage of brothers and sisters, own and collateral, in a group. This was followed by the Punaluan family which was

. . . founded upon the intermarriage of several sisters, own and collateral, with each others' husbands, in a group; the joint husbands not being necessarily kinsmen of each other. Also, on the intermarriage of several brothers, own and collateral, with each others' wives, in a group; these wives not being necessarily of kin to each other, although often the case in both instances. In each case the group of men were conjointly married to the group of women.⁷

After this stage Morgan hypothesized what he called the Syndyasmian or Pairing Family, concerning which he is more or less indefinite. It seems to have been founded upon marriage of

⁵ See McClellan, J. F., *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1886, pp. 322 ff.

⁶ The following analysis of Morgan's theories is from his *Ancient Society*, New York, 1877.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 383-384.

single pairs, without exclusive cohabitation, and to have continued only during the pleasure of the parties. This in turn was followed by the patriarchal family in which one man had several wives over whom he maintained a jealous guardianship. The final form was the monogamian family founded upon marriage and exclusive cohabitation of single pairs. He held that the last four forms have existed during the historical period, but that the consanguine family and the pure system of hetaerism existed before history. His evidence for this series is based chiefly on the vestiges of former systems of consanguinity.

Morgan held that each family type had a life cycle of infancy, maturity, and decadence. In general, the development has been toward stable relationships, a limitation of the range of legitimate sex privileges, the improvement of the condition of women, an increase of equality among the partners to the marriage, and the development of the personality of the children of the family. Periods of great licentiousness, such as existed in the Greek and Roman cities at the height of their development, were regarded not as lapses in the development of the family but as "the remains of an ancient conjugal system, never fully eradicated, which had followed down from barbarism as a social taint, and now expressed its excesses in the new channel of hetaerism."⁸ Morgan's view of the history of the family is, in his own words opposed to

. . . some of the conclusions of that body of eminent scholars who, in their speculations upon the origin of society, have adopted the patriarchal family of the Hebrew and Latin types as the oldest form of the family, and as producing the earliest organized society. The human race is thus invested from its infancy with a knowledge of the family under paternal power. Among the latest, and holding foremost rank among them, is Sir Henry Maine, whose brilliant researches in the sources of ancient law, and in the early history of institutions, have advanced so largely our knowledge of them. The patriarchal family, it is true, is the oldest made known to us by ascending along the lines of classical and Semitic authorities; but an investigation along these lines is unable to

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

penetrate beyond the Upper Status of barbarism, leaving at least four ethnical periods untouched, and their connection unrecognized.⁹

THE FUNCTIONAL HYPOTHESIS

Theories of the family based on evolutionary hypotheses have continued in popularity down to the present day. Most of the very latest books on family sociology make a great deal of the topic. However, the next general theory which was brought into the analysis concerned the relation of family evolution to changes in the other parts of culture. This consisted chiefly of two movements. One a type of modified functionalism, a doctrine of the Marxian theorists chiefly, held that all of the rest of society's culture was built about the means of making a living and followed the evolution of these means in an adaptive fashion. (The family is a function of the economic system.) Another suggested a more general hypothesis of the functional interrelatedness of the parts of a culture and did not particularly emphasize that the economic culture was the only dominant factor in the situation.

The most outstanding presentation of the Marxian point of view was made by Auguste Bebel,¹⁰ who held, along with most of the other evolutionary theorists, that the present human family started from the horde. Here, similar to the cattle herd, sexual impulses were gratified purely according to the opportunity. At this time men and women were physically and mentally on a level with each other. As proof of this he cited the theory, which he believed to be true, that among primitive peoples men and women were practically the same in bodily strength. Furthermore the difference between the sizes of the brains of women and men was much less than among civilized people. However, primitive women, although about equal to men in strength and mental capacity, lost out to them on account of their weakness during periods of pregnancy, birth, and lactation. During these periods,

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

¹⁰ See here Bebel, Auguste, *Woman in the Past, Present, and Future*, tr. by H. B. A. Walther, London, 1902, 4th ed.

men enslaved the women. "Woman was a slave before the slave existed." At first no lasting unions existed between the pairs, the women becoming private property (slaves) of the tribe and being used for communal purposes. In this development of the family promiscuous intercourse was limited to the group which held property in common. This Bebel holds was the next step after the original undifferentiated horde.

However, in this situation, either due to the scarcity of women or to the admiration which a particular man developed for a particular woman the desire for further limitation of property rights appeared. One man took a particular woman as his own property and others followed suit. Each made one or more women his own slave and property and in return agreed to give her or them a certain status as his wife. Since this was an improvement in the condition of woman, marriage arose. Out of this situation "the foundations of private property, of the family, tribe, and state were thus laid."¹¹

Bebel says further that primitive man was not chaste. Het-aerae and prostitutes were numerous everywhere in the ancient world. The situation had become so serious by the time of the ascendancy of Greece and Rome that prominent leaders were advising their followers to turn away from sex life. Following this period, the position of woman is held to have advanced further not as much on account of religion as on account of advancing economic civilization. The first clear-cut type of family was the patriarchal one, which was only possible in a situation in which women and children were the private property of men. However, even in the patriarchal family women were held at a low value, as illustrated by the fact that in early Germany the birth of a daughter entitled the leading man in the community to only one load of wood from his subjects whereas the birth of a son entitled him to two loads.

The subsequent history of the family, according to Bebel, was one in which women deteriorated and softened, at least among the upper classes, while they were the private property and slaves

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

of the men. However, as economic development went on and bourgeois society increased, women began to evolve and to find their individuality. In the capitalistic society of the present time, women are no longer particularly valuable as property rights of the male. Neither are women in need of protection from the male. The next step will be the complete emancipation of women from men and the development of a different form of the family or a different type of social organization to fit the industrial way of making a living. At the present time, the existing patriarchal type of family is a carry-over of a form of slavery from the economic system based upon the régime of individual private property. The family now evolving will be based upon a free type of monogamy allowing equally well for celibate men on the one hand, and for women who wish to have children out of wedlock, on the other. The economic basis of the enslaved family will disappear with the decline of private property. The only force making for monogamy is the almost equal number of men and women in the world. The net result will be that women again will attain equality in economic life, in material conditions, and in mental development. However, this complete solution of the women's question is as impossible as is the solution of the labor question under the régime of private property.

The pure Marxian family theory was probably originally set forth by Engels, co-worker with Marx. Engels held that there were three main early forms of the family:

. . . corresponding in general to the three main stages of human development. For savagery group marriage, for barbarism the pairing family, for civilization monogamy supplemented by adultery and prostitution. Between the pairing family and monogamy, in the higher stage of barbarism, the rule of men over female slaves and polygamy is inserted.¹²

For a fourth stage, which was to follow the capitalistic civilization, Engels predicated social revolution in which the economic foundations of monogamy as well as of prostitution would dis-

¹² See Engels, Friederich, *The Origin of the Family*, tr. by Ernest Untermann, 4th ed., Chicago, 1902, p. 217.

appear along with private property. Since monogamy arose through the concentration of considerable wealth in one person's hands and through the endeavor of that individual to pass his wealth on to his children, the change from private capital to social ownership of capital would do away with both the need for monogamy and with the development of prostitution. Since monogamy of the present type (monogamous women and polygamous men) tended to be caused by economic conditions, the opinion was put forth that it would disappear when these conditions were abolished. Private households will disappear through community living in which the care and education of children will become a public matter. There will be no difference between legitimate and illegitimate children. Men will be forced to become a new type of monogamists because women, who will be emancipated under the new system, will not submit to the customary disloyalty of men. As a consequence, they will force men to adopt a higher (single) standard of sex life. This is similar to J. J. Bachofen's contention that originally monogamy rose through the desire of women to purify sex relationships. The answer which Engels gives agrees with the contention of L. H. Morgan who held that the family must advance as society advances, and change as society changes, even as it has done in the past. It (the family) is the creature of the social system and will reflect its culture.

On the other hand, a different version of the functional interpretations may be found in the works by Ernst Grosse, A. Radcliffe Brown, and Dwight Sanderson. These disregard either wholly or almost wholly the evolutionary idea of the development of the family, and emphasize the family as part of a general culture more or less closely organized about the food supply. Grosse holds that his purpose is to investigate the chief forms of the human family organization in their peculiar characteristics and in their relation to the chief forms of economic management. He intends to prove that various forms in the family correspond to the economic form and that the essential features of any family type can be explained from the character of the economic life in which it roots. However, Grosse is investigating only this prob-

lem and not the genetic or evolutionary development of the various forms of family among themselves. He states that he is a believer in the evolutionary theory, but later on holds that humanity does not progress along a single line or in a single direction. "The ways and purposes of people are as varied as the conditions of their lives." Differing with the earlier theorists, Grosse finds that the family does not evolve in a straight line, but rather adjusts itself to certain factors more or less inherent in any particular culture form.¹³

Nor does Brown interest himself at this point in evolutionary thought, but holds rather to the idea that a culture must have a certain balance of conditions if it is to exist at all.

It must provide a mode of subsistence adequate to the environment and the existing density of population; it must provide for the continuance of the society by the proper care of children; it must provide means for maintaining the cohesion of the society. All these things involve the regulation of individual conduct in certain definite ways; they involve, that is, a certain system of moral customs.¹⁴

His chief discussion involves the value of morals and sentiments in maintaining the social balance. Nevertheless, he also implies that the family has a part in the formation of this balance in society.¹⁵ The difference between the idea of Grosse and Brown and that of the Marxian theorists lies chiefly in the Marxian over-emphasis on evolution and economic determinism.

Sanderson and Foster, on the other hand, follow the evolutionary theory, but in their positive doctrine of the family, they make a functional approach which disregards the Marxian theory of economic determinism to the extent that all factors which may condition the form and the functions of the family are taken into consideration. The family is studied "as one form of human association." The "persons associated together in the establish-

¹³ Grosse, Ernst, *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft*, Freiburg und Leipzig, 1896.

¹⁴ Brown, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, University Press, 1922, p. 401.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70 ff.

ment of a new family group grow through a process of conditioning and reconditioning, adjusting and readjusting . . ." The problems that arise in studying any group, such as the family, include structure, functions, the relations between structure and functions, and the lack of such relations. Thus, finally, these authors conclude that "the problems of the family group arise from instability between structure and function."

This concept of family organization held by Sanderson and Foster is a considerable advance over most of the earlier literature on the subject because of its empirical value. However, as we show later, it differs from the approach emphasized here in its evolutionary implications on the one hand, and in its leaning toward the companionate hypothesis on the other. The family to them is more of a "unit of interacting personalities" than an institution or a way of life.¹⁶ In spite of this the general conception of family sociology held by Sanderson approximates closely that emphasized here.¹⁷

THE COMPANIONATE HYPOTHESIS

The companionate hypothesis is to be found in practically all family literature, but it is emphasized much more in the later writings about the family than in the earlier. Its essence is that the value of family life lies wholly in its contribution to individualistic satisfaction and not group or institutional satisfaction. Here we are trying to separate the individual from the group although both are reflected in the individual.

A separate individual is an abstraction unknown to experience, and so likewise is society when regarded as something apart from individuals. The real thing is Human Life, which may be considered either in an individual aspect or in a social, that is to say a general, aspect: but is always, as a matter of fact, both individual and general. In other words, "society"

¹⁶ Sanderson, D. and Foster, R. G., "The Sociology of the Family," Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station, *Mimeograph Bulletin No. 1*, December 1, 1929.

¹⁷ See the projects by Sanderson and Zimmerman in Social Science Research Council *Bulletin No. 18* by J. D. Black and Robert G. Foster.

and "individuals" do not denote separable phenomena, but are simply collective and distributive aspects of the same thing, the relation between them being like that between other expressions of one of which denotes a group as a whole and the other the members of the group, such as the army and the soldiers, the class and the students, and so on.¹⁸

The companionate hypothesis further implies that the family is but the sum total of the individual members and does not represent an additional social system. The social values may be reflected in the members of the family, but the companionate theorists do not recognize such values. As individuals the sociologists subscribing to the companionate hypothesis may have a concept of institutional values but the use of the companionate theory automatically eliminates these group ends from their thinking about the family. It is implied that if the family does not satisfy the individuals for the moment, it is to be discarded or changed, without thought that long-time family values may be most important socially for the individual. The family must be adapted purely to the satisfaction of individualistic sensory desire or discarded. If the family appears to subordinate women to men, or children to parents, it is considered at fault. If the family has not reached a condition in which the individuals composing it can have their full freedom, similar to that which they could have without regard to membership and its obligations, then the organization is archaic and should be changed. Such statements as the following indicate the prevalence of this hypothesis in much modern family literature.

When machine industry had drawn women and even children into the factories to contribute to the family income, the first blows were struck at the monarchical power of the father, and ground for the long road leading to the freedom of wives and children began to be broken. . . . More clearly than ever before women began to perceive the restrictions laid upon their activities and personal development, especially after marriage. . . . Marriage and family life, as

¹⁸ Conley, Charles H., *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York, 1902, pp. 1-2.

conceived in the nineteenth century, appeared to some individualized women as a trap baited with certain emotional satisfactions; and restless discontent with old-fashioned marriage became increasingly general.¹⁹

The family is valuable in so far as it performs necessary functions better than they may be performed elsewhere. But like every organization and institutional arrangement, it is secondary to personality and is socially significant only in so far as it contributes to human welfare and personal development.²⁰

Two outstanding conclusions are indicated by the data on changes in family life. One is the decline of the institutional functions of the family as for example its economic functions. . . . The other outstanding conclusion is the resulting predominant importance of the personality functions of the family—that is, those which provide for the mutual adjustments among husbands, wives, parents, and children and for the adaptation of each member of the family to the outside world. The family has always been responsible to a large degree for the formation of character. It has furnished social contacts and group life. With the decline of its institutional functions these personality functions have come to be its most important contribution to society. The chief concern over the family nowadays is not how strong it may be as an economic organization but how well it performs services for the personalities of its members.²¹

If and when liberalism finally prevails, what will be the family pattern of the *majority*? In the writer's guess, it will embody monogamy; a fecundity nicely adjusted to population and eugenic needs through contraception; female labor which is more specialized and more evenly distributed through life than at present, and somewhat more communalization of domestic services, but with the retention of just enough of the private home and of parent-child and the mate-mate relation.²²

¹⁹ Goodsell, Willystine, *A History of Marriage and the Family*, New York, 1934, pp. xvii-xviii.

²⁰ Reuter, E. B., and Runner, J. R., *The Family*, New York, 1931, p. 8.

²¹ Ogburn, W. F., and Tibbits, Clark, *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933, Vol. I, p. 661.

²² Folsom, J. K., *The Family*, New York, 1934, p. 574.

These quotations could be multiplied many times. They represent a feeling that the family exists for the individual rather than for society. The companionate hypothesis is often used for measuring the failure of society to evolve equally in all compartments of culture, *i.e.* the social lag theory.

CRITICAL REMARKS

We do not intend to leave the impression that these three ideas are all of the modern theories concerning the family. However, it is patent that these have been the dominant notes in the background of most of this research. These have been the basic hypotheses, the fundamental assumptions. Neither do we wish to attempt to refute these ideas at this time. The evolutionary hypothesis may be attacked because inadequate proof has been submitted, because the pre-history of the family can never be known, and because others may contend, with some validity, that a species and the basic forms of its social organization are largely coterminous. Consequently, the evolution of family forms, if there was such an evolution, might have taken place among anthropoids before the time of humanity. That is something we can never know. Some species seem always social, always organized; others seem only partly social, not always organized into groups.

The Marxian phase of the functional hypothesis may be criticized on the ground that it adds to the probable invalidities and assumptions of the evolutionary hypothesis, an equally questionable hypothesis, that man has an economic "first cause." The Marxians hold that economic conditions are an independent variable of primary importance, whereas others maintain that the variables of which human culture is composed are functionally interrelated in such a way that no one assumes a general primacy. If one did assume primacy, it could be the family with its biological background as well as it could be the "making of a living" (economic determinism). Both of these actions theoretically are based upon the biological desire for existence or maintenance.

The second variety of the functional approach, which holds to much of the Marxian doctrine, such as economic determinism without its evolutionary preconceptions, may be criticized also on the ground that the co-existence of two phenomena does not prove a causal relation. The particular family type and the particular economic culture may appear together, each influencing the other through inter-stimulation and response, but one does not necessarily cause the other. A. R. Brown's theory of the balance of the elements of a culture is not stated in regard to the family in such a manner that its full implications are clear.

Finally, the companionate hypothesis may be criticized on the basis of the assumption that it may be impossible for an institution to be something which it is not. If individualistic satisfaction is the complete goal of society, there is no use in tieing the individual to institutions or in evaluating institutions as units. The individual must become the unit of all social thinking. If we adapt the family to the individual, we no longer have the institution. Rank, subordination, coördination of behavior domination, and unity are characteristics of social organization. If we eliminate these characteristics, the organization is gone. Either there is a family with institutional values as well as individual values, or society is a loosely formed aggregate of individuals, changing and structureless.

However, our main function is not to criticize these other approaches but to compare their assumptions and hypotheses, stated or inherent, to the Le Play type.²³ In general this is as follows.

Le Play takes a purely agnostic attitude toward the evolu-

²³ Those who wish to read further should see Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C., *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York, 1929, Ch. XV; Sorokin, P. A., Zimmerman, C. C., and Galpin, C. J., *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Minneapolis, 1931, Vol. II, Ch. X; Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsberg, M., *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, London, 1915, Ch. III; Thurnwald, Richard, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie, Verwandtschaft und Bünden*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1932, Vol. II; Thurnwald, Richard, *Economics in Primitive Communities*, Oxford University Press, 1932. These writers and a few other moderns at least begin to look at the family without being blinded by the evolutionary, the Marxian, and the companionate preconceptions.

tionary hypothesis. He deals chiefly with historical civilizations and with the high cultures. While he makes a few remarks concerning the so-called primitives or early tribes who settled in Europe, he deals with no societies which do not have a rather strong family organization. His sociology is for historical man. His general position, as implied in his philosophy, is that the evolution of the family is not a proper object of research. He sees society as a functioning aggregate moving within well-defined limits. Consequently, his philosophy does not deal directly with the questionable hypotheses of the evolutionary theory of the family. He omits the whole problem from consideration and implies from his point of view that the question is purely theoretical, unanswerable, and unimportant.

At this point we should like to quote Jevons that a hypothesis

... appears to mean in science the imagining of something, force or cause, which underlies the phenomena we are examining and is the agent in their production without being capable of direct observation. . . . Provided it is consistent with the laws of thought there is nothing that we may not have to accept as a probable hypothesis, however difficult it may be to conceive and understand. . . . The truth of a hypothesis thus altogether depends upon subsequent verification in accordance with observed facts. . . . To invent hypotheses which thus cannot be verified, or to invent them and neglect the verification, leads to no result at all, or to fallacy.²⁴

When we think of what the Le Play philosophy implies concerning the functional view of the family as a part of the culture of society, we enter into a much more complicated problem. Le Play dealt directly with this idea not only in his basic hypotheses, but also in his direct research and in his conclusions. Again and again in his works he repeats the hypothesis, which he believes that he verifies, that *the basic needs of society combine both economic and social desires*. He used the expression "daily bread" to signify economic needs and economic determinism in a society. On the other hand, his use of the expression "universal

²⁴ Jevons, W. S., *Elementary Lessons in Logic*, New York, 1914, pp. 270-273.

mores" in the same sentence with "daily bread" indicates that he did not consider economic determinism a total explanation of man's life.²⁵ He balanced the economic and social needs in the same sentences. He would be the last to say that the well-being of society or the particular characteristics of any social structure were determined entirely by the quest for an economic livelihood. On the other hand, he contends that one of the fundamental factors in any social organization is just this need for "daily bread." Consequently, Le Play seems to agree with the Marxian point of view in so far as the Marxianists emphasize the importance of the economic foundations of a society, but he would disagree profoundly with the point of view that the economic means of securing a living determine the entire processes of the organization. In this respect, Le Play's hypothesis concerning research in the family is more balanced than the pure or semi-Marxian theories.

When we compare Le Play's hypotheses with those of the functional school which do not agree with the dogmatism of the Marxists, notably those of Grosse and Brown, we find Le Playism more rounded and more realistic. Grosse's functionalism, as well as Brown's, makes the family more of a dependent variable in the total of the culture than does Le Playism. Grosse gives the impression that the means of making a living determine the type of family, whereas Brown starts with a hypothesis that there are certain fundamental needs in society. By the time Brown has finished, one has the impression that he regards "moral customs" more or less as appendages to the needs for "subsistence," "continuance," and the "maintenance of cohesion" in a society. Brown does not say at any point which of these three needs he considers fundamental, but he rather implies that they all exist. He does not connect these moral customs with any particular phase of social organization. Le Play, on the other hand, held consistently to the hypothesis that there was only one general family type with

²⁵ Besoins essentiels de l'homme.—Ils sont au nombre de deux: la connaissance de la Loi morale et la possession du Pain quotidien. La satisfaction de ces deux besoins est assurée aux Sociétés par l'obéissance à la Constitution essentielle et aux Coutumes qui en dérivent. *Les ouvriers européens*, Tours, 1879, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 446.

sub-types (differences in moral custom) which were fluctuations in the strength of this main form. The patriarchal, the stem, and the broken families, although described by Le Play, are treated as changes in the strength and weakness and in the social adaptation of *one* family organization. In the same way Le Play's studies of polygamous communities and of "community families" never lead him to point out any outstanding qualities differentiating these from others except strength and solidarity. Consequently, Le Play's hypotheses for investigating the functional phases of society present in general a basis of reference which is more in agreement with what must now be considered an empirical point of view.

Somewhat the same type of conclusions apply to the so-called companionate hypothesis. Le Play was interested in "individualistic" expression. His interest in this is demonstrated in his advocating the *famille souche* or the stem-family as the type most adjustable to industrial society. This stem-family consisted of a parent household (the stem) which preserved the organic basis of society, and of a number of individuals (the branches) who leave the parent household in order to fit into industrial organizations and urban environments where high but fluctuating money incomes were produced. The stem of the family helps to preserve society and to insure that the branches which fail in their adaptations to contractual relations have havens of safety to which they may return. Thus, the stem part of the family reduces to a minimum the needs for public charity for the unemployed. At the same time, the successful branches contribute to the embellishment of society by their rapid adjustment to new opportunities, by the development of industrial areas, and by the increase in new types of production. Thus, Le Play's hypotheses neither overemphasize the companionate or individualistic idea of the family nor give undue adulation to the patriarchal units which are preserved only in restricted areas of rural isolation.

In brief, the important hypotheses concerning family research implied by Le Play may be catalogued as follows:

1. The family which is most worthy of study is that of cultured man. It may or may not be found elsewhere, but for practical conclusions concerning our society, we find it best to assume the general existence of a universal family type. Any hypothesis that it will be replaced by a different form of social organization handicaps research, because confusion arises when one discriminates between weaknesses in the social structure and possibilities of decadence which may be interpreted as leading to other forms of social organization. This is a *universalistic* hypothesis, which we have attempted neither to prove nor to disprove. It is supported by many historical facts and seems the most fitting basis for an approach to the study of the contemporary family.
2. Man's economic needs are universal experiences, generally closely connected with the family. Consequently, they should be studied as part of family sociology. This is merely a hypothesis, but it seems to be the most helpful point of view to maintain in the research.
3. Man has certain social needs closely connected with the family and with economic desires. Neither the family nor the economic needs take precedence over the social needs. Types of conduct based on all three needs have been found together among the masses of all historical societies. That this is inevitable is neither proved nor disproved. It seems to be the most reasonable hypothesis to be used in research concerning the rôle of the family in social organization.
4. Human beings have a combination of biological, economic, and social needs. This, when fully satisfied in a society which has maintained itself, has given us a basic form of social organization which may be called at once the biological, the economic, and the sociological family. All of these needs work together with equal importance and weight. Variations in types of families, as ordinarily considered, are of two classes.
 - a. Local form customs, such as patriarchal, matriarchal, polygynous, polyandrous, and monogamous, are but different ways of expressing the

- same *general* family type. Underneath all of these local forms, one finds a universal type.
- b. The other and most important variations in the family are those which tend to overemphasize one of the three major sub-families. This occurs when the patriarchal family overemphasizes the biological and the social needs, and when the companionate family overemphasizes the economic needs and the individualistic or non-family life.

All of these hypotheses seem the most reasonable bases for an approach to the sociology of the family.

- 5. The next hypothesis assumes that in any structural or functional analysis of the essence of a society, the most valuable and likely theory is that variations between extra-family forms of social organization and the family
 - a. Are either only of local and historical significance (they do not represent changes in family strength concerning any of the sub-families—biological, economic, or social), or
 - b. Represent fundamental changes in the superstructure of society which tend to weaken or to overemphasize the biological, the economic, or the sociological families to the exclusion or partial thwarting of any other of these sub-characteristics of the basic family.
- 6. Since the family is an institution, it is more easily preserved than built up. Long-time social policy probably should be directed as much at the preservation of all major phases of the family as at the treating of the symptoms of family weakness.

Thus, this approach to the family, in so far as it is valuable for research and for determining social policy, is not a technique but a series of hypotheses. These hypotheses are of a different type from those ordinarily found in family sociology. Their value depends first upon the additions they make to general family sociology, and, second, upon their empirical use in a time of violent

crisis in the family. In this chapter we have stated them all too briefly—almost categorically. In the succeeding chapters more of their full meaning and significance is brought out.²⁶

²⁶ For the benefit of meticulous persons who criticize details and not the important general contents of a document, we wish to make it clear that the ideas emphasized here as contributions to future thought in regard to the family are new only in a relative sense. Not only do Plato, Aristotle, and the Classics show that these are old philosophies, but most of the early sacred books imply these hypotheses concerning the family. The arguments concerning the patriarchal theory and prevalence of *patria potestas* in early times are based upon cyclical changes in societies from periods in which the family is the chief unit recognized by the law to those in which the person or the individual is recognized as a legal unit. Since the early Roman law codes there have been many philosophers who have held theories concerning the family which, when analyzed, inevitably result in leading to the "new" hypotheses suggested here. Even prior to the time of Le Play, de Maistre and de Bonald were assuming about his same position in regard to the family, but neither of them followed his type of field studies. The newness of our hypotheses lies in the fact that they have been submerged by others since the eighteenth century. We seek merely to call them to public attention again. Furthermore, their definite statement as research hypotheses has not been put forth clearly. (See "La famille et la société dans la sociologie française," by Jeanne Duprat, *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 2 (2) : 235-256, 1933.)

Since this work attempts to study the Family and Society upon the basis of concrete materials, we make no apologies for the bald statement of hypotheses used here or for the sketchy review of samples of theories both in the field of the family and of family living. We regret particularly that we did not feel justified in discussing the relation of our theories to those by Edward Westermarck. However, in a later series of monographs devoted specifically to problems of the family and family living, the plan is to discuss critically all of the earlier theories in these fields. In this present work we merely state the hypotheses in order to orient the student. However, it will be noted that these hypotheses are radically different from those current in the field. Sometimes a science grows by attrition; at other times it requires entirely new leads. The present state of confusion in social science seems to indicate the need for something besides attrition, for a resurvey of basic hypotheses. In this later series of works the reasons and the differing hypotheses in a few fields will be given.

—C. C. Z.

CHAPTER III

Studies of Family Living

In this chapter we try to show the theoretical value of the application of Le Play's analysis to studies of American family living. This involves first, a brief résumé of the types of studies of family living which have been undertaken and an appraisal of the arguments for and against the Le Play method of analysis.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF STUDIES OF FAMILY LIVING

Before undertaking the analysis of the value of Le Playism it seems desirable to give a brief history of the methods employed in studies of family living. From the theoretical point of view these methods fall into three types: (1) analyses of the utility of various articles consumed by a group of families; (2) analyses of measures of well-being based largely upon the quantities of different types of goods consumed; and (3) analyses of the inter-relationships between consumption and social organization. Although the three types of methods overlap, especially the first and second, nevertheless, for our purpose they may be described separately. This classification of studies is based upon the types of conclusions reached and not upon methods alone. Any particular study may reach conclusions of all three types. In our consideration we wish to keep them separate.

The utility hypotheses need not be examined in detail. The history of studies based upon this method is long and involved. The results particularly concern the field of economics although they have sociological implications. Thus we have theories as to the relationship between supply and price and family living. This with its psychological implications about the value eventually introduces the law of increasing and diminishing returns and its effect

on family living.¹ Closely related to studies of the law of increasing and diminishing returns are those psychological studies which try to base diminishing returns upon laws of stimulus and sensation ordinarily called the Weber-Fechner law. Finally, these studies and theories are closely connected with the marginal utility analysis. We mention these general types of investigations here only because they express a part of the truth about the internal factors in family living. The student is referred to the works by the economists for further information upon the subject. Alfred Marshall and S. N. Patten from the theoretical point of view and G. del Vecchio from the mathematical side have given the most comprehensive interpretation of these theories in relation to family living. With this brief survey we turn to studies lying more in the field of sociology.

ENGELIAN TYPES OF ANALYSES

The second general type of investigation is the so-called Engelian study, so named after Ernst Engel, statistical student of Le Play and Quetelet. This type is primarily statistical, although all other methods use statistics. From the standpoint of types of assumptions and conclusions made, the basis of the method is its assumption that family living is to be measured and understood by the quantities of different types of items consumed. The Engelian type, thus, is a natural development of the theories of the utility school because the relationships examined are of quantities of goods or values consumed.

In this category belong a number of theories which not only are held to be valid laws of consumption but also have been proposed as indications of social progress. The types of studies are named after Engel because, in his final report, he held that his theory of the percentages of family expenditures, used for pro-

¹ Marshall, Alfred, *Principles of Economics*, 7th ed., London, 1916; Patten, S. N., *Consumption of Wealth*, University of Pennsylvania, 1889; Vecchio, G. del, *Relazioni fra entrata e consumo*, Rome, 1912; Williams, F. M. and Zimmerman, C. C., *Analytical Bibliography of Studies of Family Living*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1935; Zimmerman, C. C., "Laws of Consumption and Standard of Living," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1935.

curing nourishment was also "an accurate and truthful measure of the material well-being of a people."² Some of the theories were propounded before the time of Engel, such as, for instance, the suggestion made by Le Play, but developed by Engel, that economic progress was to be measured by the relative change in the proportions of expenditures for food allocated to forms of nutrition of animal origin and of those for food as contrasted with food of the vegetable genus. Engel stated his theory of proportions used for food as follows:

The proportion of the outgo used for food, other things being equal, is the best measure of the material standard of living of a population.

He also developed the idea further into a natural law as follows:

The poorer the individual, a family, or a people, the greater must be the percentage of the income necessary for the maintenance of physical sustenance, and again of this a greater proportion must be allowed for food.

This theory of Engel's was taken up and expanded by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, then under the guidance of Carroll D. Wright, and the law of well-being was summed up in four statements which are essentially as follows:

An increasing income among the workers is associated with the following types of distribution of expenditures.

- (a) The proportion of expenditures for food becomes less.
- (b) The proportion of expenditures for clothing stays approximately the same.
- (c) The proportion of expenditures for rent, fuel, and light stays invariably the same.
- (d) The proportion of expenditures for sundries increases.³

² See the last section of his last study, "Die Lebenskosten" in the *Bulletin of Internat. Institute of Staat.*, Vol. 9, Rome, 1895, first part.

³ See *Sixth Annual Report of the Mass. Bur. of Stat. of Labor*, Part IV, p. 438, March, 1875.

This interpretation of Engel's theories has caused the development of a number of new principles, none of which, however, fundamentally change the essence of his supposed conclusions. F. H. Streightoff found clothing percentages to increase with increasing income, while percentages for fuel, light, and housing decreased. Streightoff's data were used by R. C. Chapin for New York City.⁴ Conclusions identical with those by Chapin and Streightoff were reached by Ogburn after his correlation study of 200 selected families in the District of Columbia in 1916.⁵

The expansion of the Engelian hypotheses concerning food to other types of family expenditures was begun in Germany in the work of Heinrich Schwabe, editor of the Berlin Statistical Yearbook. In America it was due to an erroneous interpretation given to Engel's ideas by C. D. Wright and the popularization of the error by Richard T. Ely. In 1868, basing his conclusions upon data collected from numerous sources, Schwabe maintained that the real law of rent paralleled Engel's law for food—the lower the income is, the higher is the proportion for rent and *vice versa*. In 1869 surveys were undertaken in Berlin by the Governmental Bureau of Statistics to determine the connection between incomes and the amounts paid for rent. Two classes of families were studied: the families of 4281 government officials, both state and local, with salaries less than 1000 thalers a year; and those of 9741 other citizens with incomes less than 1000 thalers a year who were subject to taxation by the law of 1851. The incomes were divided into 20 classes and the results tabulated. Those living in furnished rooms were omitted and the earnings of the wife were not counted. From the tabulated results Schwabe claimed that: "*je ärmer Jemand ist, einen desto grösseren Theil seines Einkommens muss er für Wohnungsverausgeben, mathematisch dargestellt*" (mathematically speaking, the poorer a person is, the greater must be the part of his income used for rent of a

⁴ See Streightoff, F. H., *The Standard of Living Among Industrial Peoples in America*, p. 20, New York, 1911.

⁵ Ogburn, W. F., "Analysis of the Standard of Living in the District of Columbia in 1916," *Quarterly Publication of the American Statistical Association*, p. 14, June, 1919.

dwelling). Thus, Schwabe's law held that proportionate expenditures for rent decreased with increasing incomes without regard to the social class of the renter.⁶ A working man with an income of \$700 per year would spend the same proportion for rent as a clerk with the same income and would tend to receive about the same type of housing accommodations. In proof of this Schwabe cited data from many cities other than Berlin and particularly from Von Bruch's analysis of rentals in Hamburg.

Beginning with Schwabe's study, a series of similar analyses and theories have been developed in Germany, largely without reference to other theories held in different countries, such as those by C. D. Wright, L. B. More, R. C. Chapin, F. H. Streightoff, and W. F. Ogburn in America; and Corrado Gini and G. del Vecchio in Italy. The first of these later analyses was the criticism leveled against Schwabe's law by E. Laspeyres in 1875.

Laspeyres held that the percentages used for rent were influenced by social class as well as by income. He accepted Schwabe's law only in a relative sense and not as absolutely fixed. Thus, according to Laspeyres, it was only in the broad occupational groups that the proportions for rent could be compared with incomes. Among clerical workers lower incomes would be associated with higher proportions for rent and higher incomes with lower proportions. Similarly, among laborers the proportions used for rent declined with increases in the amounts of income. But on account of differences in class standards of living one could not compare a clerical worker and a laborer of the same income group. Each class had its own standards, but within these standards the same general principle of declining proportions for rent with higher incomes held true.⁷

In a later analysis, Albrecht tested the theories of both Schwabe and Laspeyres by means of German data available to him, and, although he found a number of irregularities, he finally reached the conclusion that Laspeyres' statement of declining pro-

⁶ See Schwabe, H., *Die Verhältniss von Miete und Einkommen in Berlin, Berlin und seine Entwicklung Zweiter Jahrgang*, pp. 265-276, Berlin, 1868.

⁷ The summary of this earlier analysis can be found in G. Albrecht's *Haushaltungsstatistik*, pp. 113 ff., Berlin, 1912.

portionate expenditures for rent, according to economic stratification within a social class, was valid for the groups with high incomes. Among middle class families it was noted that social class tended to make a difference in rental expenditures, but generally it was felt that Schwabe's law applied more uniformly to the middle rather than to the upper or to the lower groups. According to Albrecht there were no constant relationships between incomes and the proportions paid for rent by German families concerning which he had data receiving less than 1200 marks per year. He held that the broad occupational groups with high incomes were not comparable, although there was some tendency for income to influence rent. The higher income groups tended to pay a slightly smaller proportion for rent than did the lower ones and *vice versa*. Nevertheless, the officials showed one standard of living, the entrepreneurs another, the rentiers a third, and so on.

Finally, of the German scholars, Friedrich Lütge analyzed the whole problem again on the basis of the German Official Investigation of 1927-28. He divided expenditures for housing as follows: (1) rent, (2) heat and light, (3) upkeep and furnishings. He concluded that Schwabe's law was fully confirmed only among the country and city workingmen, less so among salaried employees, and not at all among officials. It is not entirely valid even among workingmen. He thought a different law was operating. "The expenditure for housing is dependent upon social rank: the higher the social standing the higher are the relative expenditures for housing."⁸

All of these theories are related to each other in the sense that they follow the basic hypothesis of Engel, that the distribution of the budget, as shown by actual expenditures, is in some ways a measure of the well-being of the family with and without regard to their total real incomes. This statement, of course, applies more to some studies than to others. Some of the theories sum-

⁸ "Die Wohnungsausgaben und das Schwabesche Gesetz in den letzten grossen Haushaltungsstatistischen Erhebungen," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie* 133: 265-82, Jena, 1930.

marized briefly here also belong to the third class of laws which are to be examined next.

THE LE PLAYIST GENERAL TYPE

In this section a number of theories concerning consumption will be summarized which seek to find relationships between family expenditures and their social consequences, particularly in the field of social organization. To some extent these overlap with the theories described above, but in the main form a distinct group. They are named after Le Play because he was the investigator who first brought the ideas to public attention. Many of the hypotheses attempt to show cyclical social relationships at various levels of consumption.

The chief contentions of Frédéric Le Play are outlined later in the discussion of the methodology of his school. They may be briefly listed as follows:

1. The level and type of consumption in a particular society is an important index of its general condition. To Le Play is often attributed a statement such as the following: "Tell me how a family utilizes its resources and I will tell you what kind of a family it is."
2. The family is a good index of the type of the society, so that from a study of its consumption one can analyze first the family and then the whole society.
3. The actual quantity of goods consumed is not as sure an index of the real well-being of the people as is the influence of the mores on the types of consumption.
4. From the preceding hypothesis it follows that a society or a family can have a high level of consumption of goods but have a low level of well-being in that the future level of consumption is endangered by the present demoralization of the social practices, *i.e.*, prosperous but demoralized (*ébranlées*) societies.
5. In the consideration of levels of consumption attention should be given to the social coördinates which attempt to guarantee the future level of consumption as well as the present level.

6. A general high level of consumption tends to make a population careless of many important rules and regulations concerning consumption. At the moment these practices appear insignificant, but consequences for their long-time values to the people are disregarded.
7. A general low level of consumption tends to discipline a people in the social practices essential to well-being, so that if opportunity arises the social system is often capable of increasing the level of consumption.
8. The level of material consumption in a society not only fluctuates according to the business cycle and to variations in the production of goods arising from natural causes, but also according to rather lengthy cycles of changes in the social coördinates of the standard of living (cycles of moralization and demoralization).

These, in brief, are Le Play's theories about consumption. Whether or not his analysis is correct, nevertheless several long-time studies of the level of consumption show that there are fluctuations in addition to those which may be explained by the business cycle or the natural factors in the yield of production.⁹

Le Play's theories have not been widely received either in his own or in other countries. Nevertheless, independent investigators have found similar relationships between consumption and the social factors of life and *vice versa*, other than those which may be predicated upon the utility and the Engelian hypotheses.¹⁰

⁹ See the following works for a summary of some of the data: Rostovtzeff, M., *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1926; Davis, W. S., *The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, New York, 1910; Sée, Henri, *La Vie économique de la France sous la monarchie censitaire* (1815-1848), Paris, 1927; Sée, H., *Équisse d'une histoire du régime agraire en Europe aux 18^e et 19^e siècles*, Paris, 1921; Rogers, J. E. T., *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, 7 vols., Oxford, 1866-1902; also his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, New York, 1890; Avenel, Vicomte G. de., *Histoire économique de la propriété des salaires des denrées et tous des prix en général depuis l'an 1800 jusqu'en l'an 1800*, 7 vols., Paris, 1894-1926; his *Découvertes d'histoire sociale 1800-1910*, Paris, 1910; his *Le nivelllement des jouissances*, Paris, 1913; his *Paysans et ouvriers depuis sept cents ans*, Paris, 1899; and his *Les riches depuis sept cents ans*, Paris, 1909.

¹⁰ All theories as to the linear relationships between size of family and level of consumption are classified primarily as Engelian. These theories tend to make size of family the reciprocal of size of income. See here Zimmerman, Carle C., "Mathematical Correlation in the Household Budget," *Sociologus* 8(2) : 145-166, June, 1932, and Marschak, Jacob, *Elasticität der Nachfrage*, Tübingen, 1931.

One of the first of these independent investigators arose in the field of housing behavior. These have been discussed in the previous analysis of theories of rent under the heading of the Engelian hypotheses. This was followed, also quite independently, by some preliminary observations concerning the budgets of poor families in Great Britain by B. S. Rowntree.¹¹ Rowntree held that among poor families the relationship between family organization and the size and earning capacity tends to show a life cycle of three periods of prosperity and three of suffering. The young laborer is likely to become impoverished or suffer from under-consumption when he is growing rapidly and needs a high level of economic consumption to carry him along. Later, after marriage and during his middle age before his children have left him, he also becomes poverty-stricken. This theory is, in part, closely related to some of the previous analyses. But in addition it postulates cyclical changes in forms of social organization, which the utility hypotheses do not do. The fluctuation of the laborer from conditions of adequate to those of inadequate consumption is a fluctuation between independent support (his dependence upon private organization) and public or semi-public dependence and support. Thus, the relationship of the laborer to the social forces which compose his social background tends to vary with his level of consumption. The periods of an "adequate" level of consumption are primarily those of extreme youth and early adulthood, and the time when the earning power of his dependent children is high. The analysis of Rowntree applies principally to urban conditions.

Rowntree's work was paralleled by a somewhat similar type of analysis made by students of the Russian peasant budget, but the theory was developed for rural rather than for urban conditions. The clearest formulation of this aspect of the theory was made by Alexander Tschajanow as follows.¹² The family is the central organizing unit in most small unit economies, particularly in agriculture. Consequently, the size and the composition of the

¹¹ See *Poverty, A Study of Town Life*, pp. 169-172, London, 1902 and 1922. This idea was also suggested in a monograph by Louis Reybaud, *Le coton*, Paris, 1863.

¹² See his *Die Lehre von der bäuerlichen Wirtschaft*, Berlin, Ch. 1, 1923.

family exercise both a qualitative and a quantitative influence upon the level of consumption and the general economic characteristics of the unit. The proportion of consumers to workers tends to increase with the growth in size of the family organization, until the maximum of consumption and a minimum of productive force are reached, just before the first children commence their lives as productive workers in or out of the household. The proportion of consumers to workers then begins to decrease until all the children have become self-sufficient, at which time consuming and working ability tends to reach an equilibrium again. To adjust these cyclical fluctuations of the composition of the family or household, the peasant tries to develop compensating fluctuations in the land and capital resources which contribute to his consumption. He seeks to prevent decreases in labor power per consumption unit from driving the level of consumption of the members below a minimum of subsistence. This part of the theory, dealing with capital and land accommodations for the decreasing labor power per unit, has been developed particularly in America. It was first treated theoretically by Henry C. Taylor and then factually in the analysis by C. P. Loomis.¹³ Loomis shows this compensating tendency at work in the fact that the per capita acres tilled by American farm families do not vary by any means as much as the per capita acres owned by the heads of these families.¹⁴ The difference between the urban theories of Rowntree and those concerning the agricultural economy lies chiefly in the analysis of compensating forces for the decreased worker-consumer ratio in agriculture.

A somewhat different type of hypothesis within the same general category has been presented in the work of J. D. Black and Carle C. Zimmerman. This is the first attempt to combine the typological method (as illustrated by the works of Le Play and

¹³ See Loomis, C. P., Ph.D. thesis, Division of Sociology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1933. See also Bulletin 298, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1934, where Dr. Loomis published a part of his thesis.

¹⁴ This characteristic life cycle in agriculture is also outlined in Sorokin, P. A., Zimmerman, C. C. and Galpin, C. J., *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Minneapolis, 1931, Vol. II, p. 31.

as developed on the theories of Max Weber) with a method for differentiating certain broad social classes according to typical distributions of their budgets. The following excerpt illustrates a typical statement of the hypotheses:

In the farm family expenditures, the primary competition is between land-investment and living. In the urban family expenditures, the primary competition is between physiological and non-physiological expenditures. A first corollary of this principle is that competition between physiological and non-physiological expenditures is a secondary matter in farm budgets. A second corollary is that for these primary types of economic behavior, farmers as a class are distinctly different from the wage and salary earning classes.¹⁵

The same idea was expanded in a later study, which summarized investment expenditures among the rural and urban groups and listed the four following principles, all of which were verified by typical data.

1. The primary agencies of investment expenditures among the poorer urban classes are insurance and savings.
2. The middle classes add another factor, investments in home ownership and improvement.
3. The upper classes have the most diverse investment facilities of all.
4. City groups as a whole show a much greater diversity of investment facilities than farm groups as a whole.¹⁶

These same ideas were still further extended to include analyses of differences in consumption according to social class. The following five principles are illustrative of a method of analysis which has been employed and which can be verified and expanded within the field of budget investigation. These seek to specify

¹⁵ Zimmerman, C. C., and Black, J. D., "Factors Affecting Expenditures of Farm Family Incomes in Minnesota," University of Minnesota, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin 246*, July, 1924, p. 28.

¹⁶ Zimmerman, C. C., "Income and Expenditures of Minnesota Farm and City Families," *Bulletin 255*, University of Minn. Agric. Exp. Stn., June, 1929, p. 28.

some of the general characteristics of consumption by social class.

1. There appear to be about as many costs of living as there are people.

2. Different groups of people spend varying amounts for the same type of consumption.

3. Different items are purchased to satisfy the same kinds of desire.

4. Different groups can live more cheaply with less cost, if necessary, but with an increase of income they tend to improve their living in so far as they are capable of emulating the upper classes.

5. Many social climbers acquire merely the formal aspects of the living of higher groups without its subjective content; and many social "fallers" lose merely the formal aspect of their former position but not its subjective side.¹⁷

This same general type of theory was expanded to include not only money expenditures but also the use of goods. In this particular case, the distribution of the use of rooms within the houses was contrasted. For the village and farm families which were studied the following conclusion was reached:

Not only do the expenditures of the lower class families indicate greater nearness to physiological requirements but their houses are so organized that more of the space is devoted to eating, sleeping, and the physical needs of the individual.¹⁸

In a later study a similar analysis of the use of room space was shown to differentiate rural from urban families.¹⁹ This leads to the suggestion, which has not been developed as yet, that for all practical purposes the same general types of analyses could be applied to the consumption of units of time without reducing those units to money values.

¹⁷ Zimmerman, C. C., "The Family Budget as a Tool for Sociological Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology* 33(6) : 908-910, May, 1928.

¹⁸ Zimmerman, C. C., "Incomes and Expenditures of Village and Town Families in Minnesota," *Bulletin 253*, University of Minn. Agric. Exp. Stn., March, 1929, p. 43.

¹⁹ Minn. Bulletin 255, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

In this particular field two monographs by Maurice Halbwachs are of theoretical significance. The first attempts to interpret the level of life of the working class using data from the German Official Investigation of Budgets made in 1907-8.²⁰ The author, who belongs to the Durkheim school, tries to solve the problem as to the psychological basis of the classification of the forms of desire associated with a given system of living. He holds that the grouping of the fields of economic desire into four or five main categories is justified only if the classification conforms to some reality. This reality he finds existing in the social factors making up a given standard of living or a level of pleasure (*nivellement des jouissances*). He denies that the marginal utility or individualist explanation justifies any such grouping. The classification of goods into groups, according to him, arises largely from the identity of the social mechanism by which the same types of goods are obtained and by which the social rhythms are connected with each general type. Thus, food items for commercialized people come in small units day by day from practically the same sources. The food group has its own peculiar institutions for marketing and its own peculiar rhythms in relation to the life of the consumer.

The same principle when applied to clothing expenditures and to rent, the most important factor in housing, enables one to see the reality of these groupings. However, their rhythms differ from each other and from that for the food expenditures. The agencies for marketing these goods also differ. Consequently, each type requires a different social organization of the thought processes and a separate organization of the economic habits. Each of these three groups of expenditures has a definite "social form." All other expenditures for contemporary needs are similar to each other in that they do not possess such definite rhythms as food, clothing, and lodging. Thus, the author concludes that, in general, four groupings of desires are justified—food, clothing, lodging, and all other expenses.

²⁰ Halbwachs, M., *La classe ouvrière et les niveaux de vie*, Paris, 1913, particularly Ch. 3.

The second monograph by the same author addresses itself to a consideration of the changes in the satisfaction of needs in the working class during recent periods in western countries.²¹ A great part of this second as well as of the first monograph is devoted to detailed attempts to test the erroneous extensions of Engel's laws. However, the concluding parts of the study are particularly interesting because of the endeavor to work out what the author calls the rhythmic changes in the evolution of the economic desires. The author is occupied almost entirely with the last fifty years in Europe and America and consequently finds a constant movement toward a higher standard of living in the Engelian sense. The percentages of expenditures for the necessities of life decrease and those for all other items increase. During this period, he points out, wages have been determined more by the standards of living of the people than by such a principle as the iron law of wages. People become used to given items of consumption and expect them to continue. Although there is no particular part of the expenditures which cannot be reduced, the general tendency is for all parts to resist any reduction. The tendency is to reduce expenditures on some of the things which are ordinarily considered necessities in order to preserve the consumption of certain new goods acquired during recent periods of luxury. This is partly due to the fact that these new goods are things which the public sees. Thus, there is a rhythm in "the evolution of needs of the working class" which moves from periods of expansion during prosperity to those of reduction during depressions.

Other conclusions of importance in Halbwachs's second work are worth listing. In a comparison of the expenditures of laborers, white-collar employees, and minor officials of the same economic groups one finds :

Laborers spend more per unit for food than employees.

Laborers spend less per unit for rent than employees and officials.

Employees spend a little more per unit for clothing than laborers.

²¹ Halbwachs, M., *L'évolution des besoins dans les classes ouvrières*, Paris, 1933.

Officials spend more than laborers per unit for diverse needs. Employees spend more than officials per unit for diverse needs.²²

These variations indicate different standards of living between classes on the same economic level. They are based upon the official German study of 1927-1928.

THE ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE LE PLAY METHOD

The previous analysis shows that Le Play's method is but one type of investigation of family living. In this section we consider it more specifically in an effort to point out its weaknesses as well as its strong points. We have concentrated our attention largely upon the work of Le Play himself.

One could write a volume discussing and analyzing the critical arguments in favor of or in opposition to the methods and conclusions of Le Play. He has been criticized at times on one or all of the following grounds:

1. His religious background and leanings made him so biased that he used science to prove his preconceptions and not as a tool of investigation.
2. He viewed the material progress of the world as a sign of decay rather than recognizing its good as well as its harmful qualities.
3. He talked of returning to the feudal system at a time when most of the world was intent upon moving the other way. Consequently he failed to see some of the disadvantages of the feudal system. As a result his ideas became nothing more than impractical pessimism.
4. His preconceptions led him to read into his cases certain types of families and forms of social organization which others, without his biases, cannot find.
5. He saw a regularity from prosperity to decadence and *vice versa* in the course of history.
6. He did not set forth clearly any one method. Sometimes his families were averages, sometimes typical, and some-

²² *L'évolution des besoins*, pp. 27-34.

times selected cases used to prove a particular manifestation in its extreme forms (typological). Consequently, he had no clearly defined and consistent methodology except that used in writing up the case histories of each family.

7. Le Play could not prove that his families were representative of the groups which he studied. As a result Alfred Marshall held "To work it well requires a rare combination of judgment in selecting cases, and of insight and sympathy in interpreting them. At its best, it is best of all; but in ordinary hands it is likely to suggest more untrustworthy general conclusions, than those obtained by the extensive method of collecting more rapidly very numerous observations, reducing them as far as possible to statistical form, and obtaining broad averages in which inaccuracies and idiosyncrasies may be trusted to counteract one another to some extent."²⁸
8. Le Play was more interested in reform than he was in scientific description. From this his interpretations suffered. He did not use the logico-experimental method but depended more upon his "derivations."
9. His method of study is so meticulous that it soon tends to lose its scientific value and its constant preoccupation with particular, unrepeated, and insignificant details soon swamps the investigator.
10. The method is subjective and not objective. Others by repeating his study would have reached different conclusions. As a matter of fact, some of the followers of Le Play did reach entirely different types of conclusions from the same kinds of investigations.

In answer to these criticisms the following might be said:

1. The fact that Le Play had religious preconceptions did not prevent him from seeing some of the scientific truth about standards of living. His methodology must not be entirely thrown aside on account of its misuse by one person.

²⁸ Marshall, Alfred, *Principles of Economics*, London, 1916, 7th ed., p. 116. See also Zimmerman, C. C., "The Family Budget as a Tool for Sociological Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology* 33(6) : 901-911.

2. The fact that rapid social change often causes complications in social organization must be faced by the social scientist. A bias in favor of change is as unscientific as the other theory that everything good lay in the past.
3. Numerous sociologists believe that developments in many parts of the modern world seem to indicate the immanence of some kind of fundamental change which will reconcile material conditions with social needs. Whether this means a new feudal system or a "new era" no one knows.
4. The general prevalence of theories as to the synchronization of the various parts of culture indicate that, if Le Play erred in the simplicity of his doctrines concerning the correlation between a material culture and forms of social organization, he made a mistake common to many social scientists. Related to this is the view that the subject of family living following Le Play's general scheme deserves further careful investigation.
5. Regularity in the course of history, or the repetition of some of the elements of history, is a popular doctrine among many thinkers. Concerning this point of view Le Play erred not more than Spengler and other modern and ancient prophets who from early times have emphasized the cyclical phases of history as opposed to "linear trends" or progress.
6. It is not necessary for an investigator to follow one method of study. The various methods must be judged by results and not by techniques. Le Play's case histories were systematic studies of certain families. If from these studies he developed theories somewhat unique and original for their time, it may be that the method still has its advantages. He certainly combined the mechanical type of investigation with the intuitive and "understanding" form of approach. Many great scholars recognize the value of intuition in establishing hypotheses for investigation and testing.
7. It was not essential for Le Play's conclusions to prove that his families were representative. He could hold that most social systems were so omnipresent that a family, even though not typical in all respects, would reflect the chief factors of social organization existent within the culture. Further still, the "typological" method calls for extreme rather than average expressions of a particular social

- trait. If by using this method Le Play discovered something not ordinarily observed about the underlying characteristics of a particular society, he should be credited with this. The method of Le Play may be combined with statistical investigations in order to satisfy other purposes as well.
8. Le Play's interest in reform as against pure description of social events does not necessarily prevent his analyses from having great descriptive value. Le Play's monographs are still recognized as being of high scientific value by modern scholars who visit the same societies. The type of family which Le Play called the "souche" or stem unit is to be found. Our Ozark investigations show them to be present. Among the colonists of Spanish origin in the rural districts of Cuba they exist in great numbers. Recent investigations in Ireland by Arensberg show similar types of family there.²⁴ Le Play may have erred in his description of this kind of family but something of that general type still exists. In addition, the question as to whether social science is "pure" description or is biased toward reform is unsettled. The emphasis of the author depends more upon his inclinations and tastes than upon absolute truth. The important consideration in each case is whether the results are valid.
 9. The degree of emphasis upon meticulous detail in an investigation should be determined by results and not by a preordained theoretical method. Certainly the statistical and historical methods have their meticulous and seemingly insignificant sides.
 10. An absolute decision in favor of either subjective or objective methods of investigation places the social scientist where he may close his eyes to a part of the truth. Many things discovered by methods called subjective may be found to be true in the long run. On the other hand, massive "objective" proof of a certain event may dissolve into nothing because the mere choice of measures, quantities, and objectives of the investigation may be done originally, upon purely transient and subjective bases. Subjective

²⁴ Arensberg, Conrad M., "A Study of Rural Life in Ireland as Determined by the Functions and Morphology of the Family," Harvard University Ph.D. thesis, 1934.

and objective cannot be divided in the social sciences. A dollar may be an objective fact but, fundamentally, it represents a changing subjective value. The fact that a farmer has \$600 money income a year does not indicate that he lives in the same way as a town laborer with \$600 a year. Putting aside other differences in real incomes, it is clear that the marginal utility of the last unit of currency has its subjective as well as its objective meaning.

There are other pros and cons concerning the value of the Le Play method of analysis. Here we give only some of the broader philosophical points of view. It would seem that neither the complete acceptance nor the absolute neglect of the Le Play methods of investigation in family living can be justified from the scientific point of view. In this and the succeeding chapters we try to show some of the possibilities which are inherent in at least a partial use of the Le Play method investigations of family living. Some of our materials are taken from the Ozark Highlands, a type of place similar to many investigated by Le Play. In these Highlands, according to Le Play's theories, we may expect to find a strong family system of the *souche* type. If such a family system existed in a relatively pure form in America, it would be found in isolated areas such as these. Our object is to make an analysis of these families and to reach conclusions concerning their living on both the non-Le Play and the Le Play methods. The difference between these two types of conclusions will show what value, if any, lies in the Le Play method. Other materials concern decentralized industrial towns in New England. Le Play made much of similar types of communities in Europe. Here we show that the family type and not the decentralized location of the industry is most important.

CONCLUSIONS

From the previous analysis one sees there is something more at stake in the Le Play type of investigation than the argument concerning the "case" and the "statistical" forms of research. Le Play's method attempts, when carried to its logical conclusion,

to infuse into studies of family living something besides the usual mechanical conclusions apparently inherent in the utility and Engelian studies. If Le Play's approach does not get at the whole truth, neither do the other two approaches. If a Highlander has \$300 of real income, the fact remains that his opportunities for possessing material goods and the marginal utility of each unit of good may be different from those of another group possessing \$1000 of real income. On the other hand, the sociological background of the living of the Highlander may have certain inherent values not found in the living of the group with \$1000 real income.

An understanding of the living from this third point of view as well as from the first and second seems valuable for two reasons: scientific knowledge of the actual standard of living is uncovered and those who use such studies for the creation of public policy might then reach conclusions different from those which now exist.

At present the Highlander is ordinarily considered a marginal man. His economic rationalization is inefficient. He has a small income. His rate of consumption of market goods is low. He is considered a potential danger to the American standard of living. He represents "cultural lag" in a dangerous form. Many people think that public policy should be directed to making him more of the commercialized American type by moving industries to him or by moving him to more fertile lands.

These conclusions are based largely upon an investigation of the living of the Highland man from the "utility" and the "Engelian" points of view. Now let us examine him also from the Le Play points of view and see how many of these earlier conclusions must be changed.

At present decentralized industry is believed to be a kind of golden scheme for reconstruction. Our studies show that decentralized industrial families at present are in a worse condition than the urban families. This is because the family type is not one which uses the potential advantages of decentralized industry. If we decentralize industry without changing the family type, we may be in a worse situation than now.

PART II



Le Play Theories



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CHAPTER IV

The Life and Background of Le Play

During the nineteenth century two scientific methods for direct study of the standards of living of the masses came to the forefront, that by Le Play in France and the statistical analysis in Germany, England, and America. A part of this volume is a critical evaluation of Le Play's work and applies some of his hypotheses to the United States.

According to Sorokin. "The name of Frédéric Le Play deserves to be put among the few names of the most prominent masters of social science. He and his pupils have created a really scientific method of the study and analysis of social phenomena; they elaborated one of the best systems of social science; and, finally, they formulated several important sociological generalizations. In all these contributions Le Play and his continuators have displayed a conspicuous scientific insight, a brilliant talent for scientific analysis and synthesis, and an originality of thought. As a result they compose a real school in sociology with very definite methods and principles."¹

Sorokin has already outlined and correctly criticized the developments of the school built upon the work of Le Play. This present work is devoted to an analysis and interpretation of Le Play's ideas on the family and the standard of living. His theories deserve study because they present a unique methodology and because they are outstanding in the development of the interrelations between the economic and sociological characteristics of the standard of living (society and the family). The following chapters consider Le Play's life and character, his methodology, and give a résumé of his theories.

Le Play studied the standard of living largely in its relations

¹ Sorokin, P. A., *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, New York, 1928, p. 63.

to the social structure. He early formulated the idea that if one knew the family budget of the total standard of living one could tell the kind of family measured. Based upon this idea was another: if one knew the type of family one would understand the total social structure of which it was a part. Thus, he made a triple parallelism between

Type of total standards of living,
Type of family, and
Type of society or social structure.

This analysis not only makes his studies unique but penetrates the problem of living much more deeply than the ordinary statistical studies. Furthermore, he combined his data with a study of the historical process, as he saw it, thus uniting two approaches in his results. His extensive observations also enabled him to predict many of the statistical results which appear in a more exact manner in the later works by Engel. Although Engel published a statement of his law only one year after Le Play's first edition of *Les ouvriers européens* had appeared, he attributed much of its inspiration to Le Play.

The work was unique, unrepeated, and covered a most interesting period. It lasted from 1829-1882, during Le Play's life, and was continued by his followers to the present. The first part of this period witnessed much of the last phase of the change from the feudal to the factory system in Europe.

If the reader will remember that Le Play saw the family budget and standard of living as a picture of the family in operation, he will understand Le Play's emphasis on the family, although the tool of analysis which he used was a description of the family budget and standard of living. Hence, he did not think it necessary to consider the two separately.

HIS LIFE

Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play lived from 1806 to 1882. Up to the time of his father's death in 1811 Le Play lived in the

rural environment of a fishing village near Honfleur. Here he was more or less remote from the disorganization which had spread over France since 1789, and had an opportunity for intimate contact with the *Gestalts* of families with a low material standard of living but with a correspondingly high development of the non-material factors. From 1811 to 1815 he lived with his mother's brother in Paris, where he received daily tutoring. In 1815 he returned to his native province of Honfleur. Between 1818 and 1822 he studied the classics at the *Collège du Havre* where he received his first university degree. In 1823 the problem of his life profession arose. Under the tutelage of an old friend of the family, he spent the year working as an engineer in the morning and reading literary, social, and scientific studies in the late afternoon and evening. At this time he began his tours of social investigation which were continued throughout most of his life. "Our voyages [*i.e.*, those of Le Play and his teacher] in Contentin and Vendée enabled us to observe the vices and virtues of the past among our contemporaries. We were pleased to discover the possibilities of social peace which seemed to guarantee, after all the discord [of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars], the improvement in the spirit of the people and the preservation of the prosperity which began to be re-established after 1815."²

Between 1824 and 1830 Le Play studied in Paris at the *Collège Saint-Louis*, the *École polytechnique*, and the *École des mines*. During this period many of his ideas on sociology matured. At the *Collège de France* "where eloquent professors discredited the national customs and assigned the development of the human mind as the supreme purpose of civilization," Le Play had his first intellectual contact with what he later termed "the three false dogmas of the Revolution—Liberty, Equality, and the Right of Revolt." He resumed his field trips for the systematic study of society in 1829 when he took a walking tour with his friend Jean Reynaud (later under-secretary of the French Ministry of Education) through the section of Hanover between the Moselle River

² *Les ouvriers européens*, Paris, 1879, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. 30.

and the North Baltic Seas. This field trip was undertaken to study the forests and metallurgy of Hartz. While there, he became an intimate friend of M. Alberts, Director-General of the mines of Hartz. This enabled him to secure many intimate details concerning the place, the people, and their social organization. He lived in the home of a miner and constructed his first case study of family budgets which he afterwards published as "the miner of Hartz."³

In 1830, while still a student in the *École des mines*, Le Play was severely injured by an explosion in the Chemical Laboratory of the school. For six months he expected to die and for twelve months more he lost the use of his hands. Writing fifty years later, Le Play says of this event: "In 1830, a wound which nearly killed me held me suspended between life and death for a year. Eighteen months of physical and moral torture transformed my spirit and gave a somber tint to my after-life. During this time, the blood spilled in the [French] Revolution of July, 1830, flowed under my window, and I vowed to give the rest of my life to the re-establishment of social peace in my country. I have never forsaken this vow and I now offer the public the results of my work on this subject which was commenced in the plains of Saxony and the mountains of Hartz a half century ago."⁴ Between 1830 and 1848 his financial support was mostly derived from his official duties at the *École des mines*. Until 1840, when he was elected Professor of Metallurgy, these were mostly minor offices such as editor of the *Annales des Mines* and *Statistique de l'Industrie Minérale*. He was able, however, to spend six months of each year in field trips to all the important sections of Europe, and during this time he studied family organization carefully and completed many monographs on it. He attracted about a hundred followers and co-workers, all of them interested in the development of this particular subject. In 1833, at the request of the Spanish Government, he went to Spain for a geological and mineral survey of the section of Estramadura. Not only was the

³ *Les ouvriers européens*, Paris, 1877, 2nd ed., Vol. III, Ch. 3.

⁴ *Les ouvriers européens*, Paris, 1878, 2nd ed., Vol. I, p. vii.

expedition fertile in results for the science of metallurgy, but the publication of his observations secured Le Play the friendship of several influential men who found opportunities for him to make similar expeditions to Germany, Belgium, and England. During these trips, he made case studies of typical families and schematic analyses of the "social constitutions" of particular societies. His friends made possible the publication of his first contribution to the social sciences—the first edition of *Les ouvriers européens*.

In 1835 he received special instructions from Louis-Philippe to settle the complaints concerning trade inequalities between French and Belgian metal founders on the frontier between the Sambre and the Moselle rivers. "My report, the result of long study in Belgium, found a solution satisfactory to all parties. . . . But for me, the greatest prize was the collecting of data for my social studies which I carried along with my engineering duties." The success of this investigation led him to be chosen in 1836 to study foundry methods in England, Scotland, and Wales. These voyages of investigation mark the beginning of his appreciation of the stem-family system (*famille-souche*) because he found the "seven essential elements of a prosperous society" among all these people, whether English, Welsh or Scotch, Presbyterian, Quaker, Catholic, or Unitarian. In London occurred the famous incident of the workman who, feeling ill at ease while eating, would not show friendship to his hosts (Le Play and St. Leger) until a toast had been drunk to "the Queen." This incident, according to Le Play's later reminiscences, led to the train of thinking which he later formulated concerning the relation between the state or the "social authorities" and the family.

His successes led to his appointment in 1837 to survey the coal resources of Donnetz. This was undertaken at the request of the Russian Government and led to later connections of tremendous importance in his life. At one time he had charge of approximately 40,000 miners in the neighborhood of the Ural Mountains. While in Russia he was in a position to observe those social conditions which are found in the régime of pastoral life, and also the permanent relations between the serf and the master. The rela-

tion between religion and the family organization was brought further to his attention by his Slavic studies.

From that time until the Revolution of 1848 he made ten more long trips, including three to England, two to Russia, one to the Asiatic steppes of Siberia, and others to numerous countries. The winters were spent in teaching and at weekly discussion clubs on sociology.

The Revolution of 1848 wrought a decided change in the life of Le Play. From 1848 to 1855 he gradually gave up his engineering work and completed the manuscript of *Les ouvriers européens*. The publication of an abridgment of this work brought him such fame and renown that he was able to devote the rest of his life almost entirely to his social science studies. At the same time he was appointed Counsellor of State and Commander of the Legion of Honour. He was also made Commissioner General of the World Fair in Paris in 1855. From then until the end of his life Le Play wrote profusely. At the insistence of Napoleon III, who was interested in applying some of Le Play's ideas, he prepared his three-volume work, *La réforme sociale en France*, which first went to the press in 1864 and had gone through seven editions by 1887. This work was originally planned in 1848 and represented sixteen years of systematic thinking. It summarizes his ideas on religion, property, the family, labor conditions, non-family associations, and the functions of the citizen. His later works were a development and application of the theories given in these three volumes. In 1875 he made a special study of the constitution of England, and in 1876 he expanded his reform ideas to include all of Europe. In 1879 he revised his *Les ouvriers européens*, adding many more monographs and including the theoretical discussion which was omitted from the 1855 edition. Before he died he prepared a volume, *La constitution essentielle de l'humanité*, in which he sought to apply his ideas to other forms of human organization. All of these studies were carried on simultaneously with the work on family monographs, more than three hundred of which he himself prepared during his lifetime. Le Play's theories are generalizations based

upon these careful monographic studies. During this time he was very active in creating organizations for the dissemination of his method of investigation among other persons and in other countries, and for the publication and propagation of his ideas for social reconstruction.

The man Le Play had several personalities. As an individual he was never popular except with his students and followers. Yet seldom has a teacher had so many devoted followers or created such a strong impression among intelligent men as did Le Play in his time. When he died, there were only passing notices of his death in the papers; yet his works, which were voluminous as well as wearing, had passed through many editions even before his death.⁵ Although his opinions were contrary to the popular convictions of his time, nevertheless he was consulted concerning the social questions of his time by many leading men in the administration of the governments of Europe.

A scientific thinker primarily, he yet recognized the value of religious beliefs and institutions. He was a supporter of the social values of organized religion. He propounded a system of social reorganization with religion as one of the basic institutions and yet refused to permit an alliance between his followers and the Catholic Political party of his time. "He did not employ the methods of a politician—to assemble crowds and to strike at his enemies. Nevertheless, he was the artist and politician, bearing only the popular voice. Attentive observer, solitary thinker, sober patriot, he resolutely directed his criticism against his century, without chagrin, anger, or insincerity."⁶

HIS INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

Le Play's scientific background was the result of an education and training in engineering and mining. His writings in mining

⁵ For instance, 15,000 copies of *La réforme sociale* had been sold (1864-1870) and a fourth edition was printed in 1870 to meet the demand. See Ribbe, C., *Le Play*, pp. 80 ff., Paris, 1906. The first edition of *L'organisation du travail* (5,500 copies) was sold in eight days. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁶ Frary, Raoul, *Mes tiroirs*, Paris, 1886, 2nd ed., p. 240.

engineering and his practical work in the organization of mining ventures received wide recognition not only in France but in all Europe.

His ideas had a definite connection with the work and philosophy of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the author who, "above all others, inspired the French Revolution."⁷ Le Play considered revolution the strongest evidence of the lack of social harmony and peace. Le Play opposed and felt called upon to challenge Rousseau's chief ideas, those concerning the original nature of man and the concepts of "liberty, equality, and the right of revolt"—three of the battle cries of the French Revolution. Concerning human nature Rousseau's attitude is best summarized in his famous sentence from the *Social Contract* that "man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains." We cannot treat in detail this idea of the original goodness of mankind as given or implied in Rousseau's works upon the *Social Contract* and *The Origin of Inequality*, but it is necessary to point out that Le Play's later theories were practically its antithesis. Rousseau maintained that men were born good, and continued to remain fairly harmonious in a state of nature.⁸ In time, however, the concept of private property arose and the stronger and more militant individuals became wealthy. These knew that their property was "founded on precarious and false title; so that, if others took from them by force what they themselves had gained by force, they would have no reason to complain." Accordingly, they called the people together and suggested that a strong government be

⁷ For Le Play and Rousseau, see Reuss, Alfons, *Frédéric Le Play in seiner Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der sozialwissenschaftlichen Method*, Jena, 1913, pp. 14 et passim. See also Ribbe, Charles de, *Le Play d'après sa correspondance*, Paris, 1906, 2nd ed., pp. 45 ff. The publication of *La réforme sociale* coincided with the centenary of *Le contrat social* (1764-1864) by Rousseau. "J.—Jacques Rousseau et Frédéric Le Play y seraient peints par eux-mêmes; l'un représentant ce qu'il y a eu de plus fatal pour notre pays, c'est-à-dire la théorie qui sacrifice l'individu à l'Etat, en lui retirant tous ses droits, celui de la famille, celui de la propriété, et lui ôte jusqu'au droit d'établir un rapport permanent entre Dieu et lui; et l'autre, ce qui, en tout temps et partout, a constitué l'ordre des sociétés et seul peut relever l'individu, en restaurant selon les principes et la pratique des peuples les plus libres, les plus stables et les plus prospères, a religion, la propriété et la famille." Ribbe, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁸ Rousseau often, however, fitted his conclusions to his purposes and changed them at will.

set up which would guarantee the *status quo*. The others were seduced by this foolish argument, according to Rousseau, and "all ran headlong to their chains, in hopes of securing their liberty; for they had just wit enough to perceive the advantages of political institutions, without experience enough to enable them to foresee the dangers." Thus Rousseau conceived that though men had created political institutions, they still retained the principle of sovereignty in themselves in perpetuity. When the ruling classes abrogate the contractual duties which the sovereign people had delegated to them, the contract could be broken. ". . . there is in the state no fundamental law that cannot be revoked, not excluding the social compact itself; for if all the citizens assembled of one accord, to break the compact, it is impossible to doubt that it would be very legitimately broken."

Although these Rousseauistic ideas on human nature, liberty, equality, and the right of revolt, were repeatedly attacked by Le Play, yet there is considerable similarity between the two men, particularly when one considers Rousseau's *Discourse on the Moral Effects of the Arts and Sciences*. The chief similarity arises from the fact that both writers held cyclical theories of human prosperity, and both believed that the softening influence of luxury had much to do with these cycles. However, they differed fundamentally in their analysis of human society. Le Play's central idea was that the laboring classes were the foundations of society, but he would never promote the ends of the laboring classes without considering the interests of others, because he always conceived of society as a whole. Le Play would substitute "working" or "laboring" classes for the term "lowest" classes and would differ considerably as to the methods of achieving the same ends as Rousseau. In his system of social control or social improvement he emphasized above all the maintenance and development of the "social authorities," the local leaders of all types and social classes, who took upon themselves the duties of preserving and protecting the conditions of the laboring classes not only economically but morally and socially. He suggests that the most important social leaders were the rural,

business, and manufacturing leaders (*autorités sociales*) who lived near their employees and took a human interest in them. Yet, according to Le Play, these became great only when they combined the function of a wise religious, administrative, and governmental leader with the discerning control of the economic life. In other words, Le Play had a high appreciation of the rôle of religious, governmental, and "natural nobility" leadership in the well-run state.

Concerning popular ideas of the time, such as the "enslavement" of the working classes, the substitution of "associations" of a general nature for the family, the position and duties of women, the replacement of capitalism by a "social fund," and the antagonism to family morality, Le Play had nothing but objections and criticism.

In addition to his training in natural science and his contacts with Rousseauism, a third factor in the intellectual background of Le Play was the philosophy of Auguste Comte (1798-1857). Comte, also a son of a tax collector, entered in 1814 the *École Polytechnique*, where he was associated with St. Simon from 1818 to 1824. All of Comte's writings and lectures preceded Le Play's publication of *Les ouvriers européens* and were part of the general thinking of the time. Comte was also interested in the reorganization of French society after the disruption caused by the revolution and had definite convictions as to the place which religion should play in this reorganization. However, he and Le Play differed in everything else. Comte was the philosopher, the systematizer of the sciences, and the advocate of Utopian schemes of social reconstruction. Le Play was the engineer, the pragmatist, and the student of human nature. Comte studied ideas; Le Play studied people. Comte created "new" terms such as "positivism" and "sociology"; Le Play always insisted upon the clarification of the old. Comte hid himself from the world; Le Play immersed himself in the life of the common people. Comte from the beginning made his living either by secondary school teaching or by tutoring; Le Play was first the brilliant and practical engineer and later, against his wishes at times, the sociologist and intellectual.

The major resemblances and differences of the two thinkers can also be shown by contrasting their viewpoints on a few concrete ideas. Concerning the primacy of ideas and institutions in social forms, Comte claimed that it "becomes every day more evident how hopeless is the task of reconstructing political institutions without the previous remodelling of opinion and life."⁹ Le Play, on the other hand, while he paid a great deal of attention to the ideas and the mores of a people, held that institutions were the primary factors and that opinions were derivative and secondary. "Whilst adhering to our present forms, society must be re-established upon its eternal bases, namely: domestic life upon the discipline of the fireside, the workshop, the parish and the corporation."¹⁰

Concerning the nature of the future society there were profound differences. Comte believed that "progress" would work out a new order or a Utopian *positivism*. The reconstruction of the intellectual and moral sides of life was to be stimulated by altruism and based upon a new scientific religion called "positivism." In this new religion, society became a sort of self-constituted god. The family, industry, church, and society must be recreated according to a more highly developed formula—a sort of intellectual super-state. "The task, therefore, that lies before us is to recommence on a better intellectual and social basis the great effort of Catholicism, namely, to bring Western Europe to a social system of peaceful activity and intellectual culture, in which Thought and Action shall be subordinated to universal Love."¹¹ Le Play, on the other hand, conceived a future society recreated on the basis of its original segments. The home and the community would be formed or strengthened by more permanent relations between the hearth and family and between employer and employee. These were necessary, for in his opinion the inherent selfishness and foolishness of human

⁹ *System of Positive Polity*, July, 1851, vol. I, p. 2.

¹⁰ *The Organization of Labor*, Emerson's Translation, Philadelphia, 1872, pp. xvi-xvii.

¹¹ *System of Positive Polity*, p. 72.

beings made other schemes impractical. The cement of Le Play's future state was to be a Decalogue of moral principles, not dissimilar to the Mosaic Commandments. Le Play considered these to be the fundamental moral virtues recognized by all religions and by all lasting social philosophy.

The other main intellectual influences in his life were Montaigne and Plato. Constant references are made in his work to the stimulating influences which these writers had upon him. Le Play, however, was never a man to criticize any writer on meticulous theoretical grounds. He concentrated all of his ideas upon what he considered three of the false dogmas of the intelligentsia of his time—Liberty, Equality, and the Right of Revolt.

Fundamentally, however, the intellectual background of Le Play was life itself—France after the Terror, the Europe of the Industrial Revolution. Le Play is to be thought of as a man who studied life and not the written word. We do not place him in the intellectual history of his period otherwise, because of this point of view. Le Play was unique. Any student knows that hundreds of writers lived at that time. W. F. Hegel, Karl Marx, Henry S. Maine, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, and many others whose names are by-words in modern social science lived and wrote during this period. However, this century produced only one man of the type of Le Play.

CHAPTER V

Method and Sociological Theories

Le Play's methodology is unique. In one respect, practically all studies of family living may be divided into two types with the Le Play analysis representing one and the statistical studies representing the other. All studies of family living belong partly to sociology and partly to the other social sciences¹. The same may be said for the Le Play method with the exception, as will appear in the analysis, that it deals with a higher proportion of the concepts and problems of pure sociology.

The period covered by the Le Play studies was from 1829 to his death in 1884. Some of his followers continued along similar lines to 1930, when the *Société d'économie sociale* of Paris published the most recent monograph, dealing with a French railway employee. The countries included in the investigations are worldwide. Not all years are represented by a study nor are all countries included. Most of the studies apply to France and the data are more numerous for certain years than for others. Statistics were sometimes printed separately from conclusions and analyses. In general, however, the methodology for the whole group may be regarded as of one type.

The outstanding characteristics of this type may be summarized according to purpose, method, and results. Le Play was impressed by cyclical fluctuations in the economic and social prosperity of peoples and tried to use his method of analysis to explain these phenomena. He seemed to find the chief explanation in the social structure (*social constitutions*). The elements of the social structure were numerous, but he paid particular attention to the family, the mores of a society, employment, labor unions,

¹ Here the concepts of Durkheim and Sorokin are used as a standard of what is sociological.

and the relations between the individual and the government. He looked upon each individual as a product of many factors in the social structure. He attempted to show that the well-being of the individual depends, to a considerable extent, upon the nature of the various lines and forces which bind the individual to the social structure. He believed that a study of the family in its relation to the general social structure could explain to a great extent the state of well-being of the family. However, in addition to this general idea, Le Play had all the aims of the other investigators of family living. He was interested in contributing to the science of sociology and in improving human welfare. However, the basic point at which his studies differ from all others lies in the utilization of the case study of family living for the purpose of understanding social structure. This social structure, according to Le Play, determined social welfare.

The Le Play plan was to gather a great deal of information about a few representative families. The analysis was limited to people who work (*ouvriers*). It was considered that this class included 95 percent of the population of the world, and the welfare of this 95 percent explained the welfare of the other 5 percent. Though limited to the analysis of working people, the system did not exclude small capitalists such as proprietary farmers or the owners of other kinds of property (boatmen or tailors). The studies always included sixteen features; generally a number of others were added in "notes." These may be enumerated as follows:

(1) Place. This includes the geographical location of the family, the type of industry which it follows, and a discussion of the type to which this family belongs. In this section the reasons are given for choosing this particular family and there is some discussion of the extent to which it represents the type.

(2) Civil status of the family. This lists the members of the household by age and sex, gives the age at marriage, and tells about all deceased children. It also tells whether or not there were any sexual irregularities connected with the family.

(3) Religion and moral habits. Here the formal religion of

the family is given and the extent of adherence to the forms and tenets of the religion is discussed.

(4) Hygiene and health service. This discusses the physical condition of the members, the diseases which they have had, their recourse to medical treatment, and the costs of such medical treatment.

(5) Rank of the family. This deals with the position of the family in the social hierarchy and tells whether or not the moral standing of the family tends to improve or degrade the economic and social position it holds by reason of its occupation.

(6-7-8) These three categories are devoted to a discussion of the means by which the family exists. No. 6 is property. Property is divided in real property, domestic animals, tools, and working equipment. Each item is discussed and is given an economic value. No. 7 is a discussion of subventions, by which is meant the rights which the individual has against the property and services of the community, the employer, or the government. Each item is discussed and valued on a basis of its annual contribution to income. The basis of this value scheme was that of alternative opportunity or cost. No. 8 involves the work and the industries carried on by the families. Here a description of the work of the husband, the wife, the children, and other members is given. If the family carries on any industry, such as the keeping of a cow or cultivating a garden, this is discussed in detail. All contributions with economic value are later included as income.

(9-10-11) These deal with the *mode* of existence of the family. No. 9 deals with foodstuffs and eating. The principal items of food are discussed. The number of meals taken each day, the menus of typical meals, and the time of eating are all given. No. 10 deals with the house, furniture, and clothing. A physical description of the house is given. This is followed by an evaluation of the important items of furniture and equipment and the clothing for each member. No. 11 ends the discussion of the modes of existence by giving a characterization of the most important forms of recreation for each member of the family.

(12-13) These deal with the history of the family. No. 12

discusses the principal phases of the existence of the family from the birth of the parents until the time of the study. It generally gives data concerning the social status and occupation of the preceding generation of the family. No. 13 attempts to characterize the family according to the mores and institutions which assure its physical and moral well-being. For instance, it may be pointed out that religious teachings have disciplined the character of the members so that the employer has great confidence and interest in them. As a result of this confidence the employer often gives them free medical treatment in case of sickness or some kind of employment at a living wage even during depressions. It may be shown that the family is very thrifty and saving and that the property which it has accumulated may serve as a sort of guarantee against unusual circumstances. It may be pointed out that the particular family spends its income each year but has certain lands or other property which cannot be hypothecated (owing to the feudal system or to the particular system of land laws or primogeniture existing in many countries). In many respects the essence of the Le Play system is to be found in the analysis made in this section. All of the other parts of each monograph are built around it.

(14) Analysis of income for the year. This is always divided into four sections and each one of the four sections is divided into two parts. The first section concerns property. In one part the property is listed and valued at local prices. In the other the income from each unit of property is given under two categories—the value of receipts in goods and services and the value of receipts in money. Receipts in goods and in money are never mixed together. Both are entered as money, but the two columns are kept separate. Everything is valued at local retail prices. Some items are entered as money which are consumed without being sold, but this applies only to a few items which have an immediate local market value. The second section analyzes subventions in the same manner. The third section applies to wages. In this section each member of the family is listed and the number of days of work of a primary or secondary nature either in or out

of the home are given. The average wage per day is given, together with the total receipts in money and in goods. Anything which may be considered of an entrepreneurial nature or relating to family industries is not entered here but in the next section, which relates to those industries. The time spent on the family industries is given in the third section, but the fourth includes the value of receipts imputed to those industries. Both columns of receipts (in money and in kind) are added and the total is balanced against the total expenses.

(15) The expenses. These are divided into five sections with an extra statement for savings of the year. Each section lists the expenditures in money or the value of the goods consumed if they are not purchased. The first section concerns foods. This is divided into two categories, those consumed at home and those away from home. The first statement tells the age and sex of each member of the family and the number of meals taken in the house by that member during the year. The foods are classified into cereals, fats, milk and eggs, meat and fish, vegetables and fruits, condiments and stimulants, and fermented drink. Under each classification the names of each item consumed are given along with the amounts used. This is followed by the price for each unit and the total expenditures. The record is a complete and itemized picture of consumption. The section on the household which comes next includes lodging, furniture, heat, and light. A description of the house and an evaluation of the items of furniture are given earlier as mentioned above. The rent is either the actual amount paid or an imputed percentage on the basis of the value of the house. In some cases this is five percent; in others it varies with the interest rates prevailing in the country. Lodging also includes the upkeep of the house and the cost of new articles. The type of heating is specified. Then comes a list of the type and the amount of fuel consumed, together with its value. Lighting equipment is specified and valued in the same way. The section concerning clothing gives details for each person and a combined family bill for laundry. The expenses for clothing are divided into those which represent a money expense

and those which represent the value of the household labor at local market prices. The next section concerns moral, recreational, and health expenses. This gives detailed expenditures for religious purposes, for the education of the children, for charity, for recreational and social ceremonies, and for medicine and medical treatment. Section five concerns home industries, debts, taxes, and insurance. Expenses for industries are subtracted in order to secure the net income, so that no detailed figures for these items are carried into expenditures. Interest and repayment on debts, taxes, and insurance are given in detail. Finally, the expenses are balanced against income in a separate account called "savings of the year."

(16) Accounts annexed to the record. These are itemized details which explain the net income given in the previous paragraphs. Their interest lies chiefly in the details which are given concerning the clothing worn by the members of the household and the quantitative data concerning the household industry. It gives the price and description of each item of clothing and computes how long it was used. Thus, a net expense per year is computed.

Notes. This section always includes a number of pages devoted to diverse factors in the social structure (*éléments diverses de la constitution sociale*). These notes vary according to circumstances in the particular society under study.

The data were gathered by Le Play with the assistance of local workers who gave from one to two months to the direct study of each family. Since the data are case materials, no method of measuring family size is used. The nearest approach to a statistical study of the results was that by Cheysson and Toqué cited at the end of the chapter and the earlier analysis by Ernst Engel when he first published his famous law in 1857. These are the most complete studies of family living in existence. They picture the living conditions of the working population of the countries.

As will be fully described later, Le Play found definite relations between social structure and the welfare of the

people. The studies of family living enabled a clear picture of these relations to be made and presented to the public. In addition, they furnished the most minute and detailed records of family living that are in existence. The original monographs must be considered models of methodology even today.

Theories Concerning the Standard of Living. Le Play used a very figurative language which is easily misunderstood. Fortunately, in his later works he defined the three hundred important terms which he used so that we now know more exactly what he meant. His concept of the standard of living was given under the definition of the essential needs of man (*besoins essentiels de l'homme*). He conceived this as being of a dual nature, comprising, to use his own terminology, the *daily bread* and the *moral law*. He used these terms to indicate that a standard of living among man involves material and non-material things. The material he called the daily bread and the non-material he called the Decalogue or the moral law. Thus, his idea of a standard of living extends into the field of sociology as well as that of consumption economics.

According to Le Play, the standard of living is capable of assuming four or five different levels. These levels are held in position by what he called the *social constitution* or social structure. This social structure he divided into two categories, the private life and the public life. The elements of the social structure are seven in number. Two of these he called the *foundation*. They consist of the mores and family authority. Two of them he called *cements*. These are religious institutions and governmental authority. The purpose of these cements is to bind the other elements together. The other three elements are *economic goods* which are held by three groups: the individual, the employer (or feudal patron), and the community. Le Play tried to show that individuals have different standards of living according to the nature of these seven elements of the social constitution.

The extreme positions in this social scale were called "prosperity," which Le Play put at the top as desirable, and "suffering," which he put at the bottom as undesirable. These two categories

(*prospérité* and *souffrance*) are more than economic categories, because each includes some part of the physical and some part of the psycho-social conditions of the society (daily bread and the moral law). He recognized that certain families and certain societies could have cross-combinations of prosperity and suffering, at least during periods of a change in the direction or in the rate of movement of certain social processes. Prosperity was defined as the physical and psychological condition of societies produced by the constant practice of well-doing (*bien*). This well-doing requires a good working social structure built on the seven elements already mentioned. If the social structure breaks down, society approaches the lowest social condition (*souffrance*). The chief force for decadence is the inherent badness of human beings, *e.g.*, their innate tendencies toward individualism, selfishness, etc.

Prosperity is associated with social peace (peace between classes, and within families, industries and governments) and social stability. Prosperity is of two types, one called *simple prosperity* and the other *complicated prosperity*. The chief difference between these types is in the proportion of agriculture to industry in the economy of the society, and in the quantity of certain types of material goods consumed by the average family. Simple prosperity depends almost exclusively upon living on agriculture and the fishing industry. That is, the people consume the products of the soil and water without selling them. There is no great amount of trade and industry. *Complicated prosperity* is found in societies where there is great division of labor and exchange of products, but where the other fundamentals of prosperity are maintained. Le Play did not say that all families are prosperous at any time, but rather that nations with a strong social structure show either one of the two kinds of prosperity, simple or complicated, among the masses. In addition to this, he indicated that both kinds of prosperity vary according to the time, the place, the race, and the political power of the nation.

Suffering (*souffrance*) also appears both in agricultural and in commercial societies. It also varies according to the time,

the place, the race and the political power of a nation. The chief difference between prosperity and suffering is to be found in the character of the seven elements of the social structure and in the failure of the people to observe the practices necessary for the preservation of these seven elements. Suffering varies according to the extent to which the people violate the rules of well-being; but not all suffering is due to this. For instance, temporary suffering is often found in simple societies (those based on agriculture). This is due generally to natural disasters, but is of a transient nature and very easily repaired. On the other hand, when complicated societies begin to suffer from their continuous failure to follow the rules of well-being, and to keep up their social structure, it is very difficult to repair the damage. If continued for any length of time, such suffering (*ébranlement*) leads to social disorganization and to the decline of that particular society.

In addition to the fact that any particular society could be classified in one of the above categories, Le Play believed that there are generally tendencies toward change as time goes on. By a study of the seven elements of the social structure (the family, the mores, the religion, the government, the individual property, the property of the patrons and ruling classes, and the community property), a society or group of people can be classified as simple, and prosperous or suffering; or complicated, and prosperous or suffering. Societies tend to change, but Le Play did not recognize any necessity nor any regularity or predestined direction in the movement. Some societies move slowly and others rapidly; some vary greatly and others only slightly. Le Play was convinced that the variations from prosperity to depression during historical periods were greater for Western than for Oriental societies. Nevertheless, he believed that, in general, prosperity tends to breed conditions that lead to suffering unless the leaders in that particular society are extremely wise. On the other hand, he also held that conditions of suffering tend to breed prosperity and will be successful if the leaders (social authorities) and the circumstances of the time enable the work to be accomplished

before the society comes to total ruin. Thus, he denied such a thing as historical predestination but, at the same time, indicated that social forces are sometimes so powerful that the intelligent leadership of society cannot control or guide the people. One reason for the incapacity of the upper class authorities when suffering appears lies in their inability to understand the situation and thus to lead back to prosperity.

The depositaries of political and religious authority, chosen generally from the wealthy class, are usually the first to propagate evil; for it is owing to the influences of wealth and authority that vicious habits grow up, to scatter their seeds upon the public at large. The depraved upper classes abandon themselves to all kinds of irregularities, inspired by their sensual passions and selfish interests. Seized now and then by a kind of vertigo, they yield, in contradiction to their most evident interests, to the propagation of error and destruction. We then find them, in their speeches and writings, as well as by their actions, sapping the foundation of religion, the family sentiments, the traditions of the Church, and, in general, destroying or perverting all the moral agencies which had before contributed to strengthen the foundations of society.²

Furthermore, Le Play indicated that prosperity, with its social peace and social stability, is a difficult condition for a society to attain, and the very fact that it has been attained makes it difficult of preservation. "People rise with difficulty to the highest degrees of prosperity and harmony. Those by whom such advantages are attained, experience still more difficulty in preserving themselves from the corruption which emanates from the possession of authority and wealth."³

Le Play illustrated these cyclical movements for France by dividing the history of the country into six periods. The first of these is 1600' B. C. to 300 B. C., which was a time of simple prosperity based on an agricultural economy, family virtue, and the leadership of the wise men of the Druid religion. It was a time when there was periodic suffering of a simple kind, but when,

² Emerson, Gouverneur, *The Organization of Labor*, p. 32, Philadelphia, 1872.
³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

in the main, the people became increasingly prosperous. Efficiency in agriculture increased and "prosperity became general, and manifested itself by its common symptom, fecundity in families. It attained its greatest height in the sixth century without any serious change. These three centuries form the great epoch of Gaul. It was then that the Gallic races held in balance the fortune of Rome, made the Greeks tremble, and in a measure pushed themselves into southern Europe from the Atlantic to the Euxine Sea."⁴

The second period in France was from 300 B. C. to about 500 A. D., during which time the Gauls declined under the influence of the degenerate social structure of the Romans. This was a period in which their society became complicated and developed the elements of social warfare and social instability. The families which became rich through manufacturing, mining, and commerce gradually superseded the Druids and warriors as leaders among the Gauls. These *nouveau riches* grouped themselves in large cities surrounded by walls and oppressed the countryside. Social disorganization spread from the city to the country and pleasures founded on luxury and violence replaced those formerly derived from labor and peace. The moral and intellectual powers of the people became enfeebled. This demoralization destroyed the peace of the society which had been built up since 1600 B. C. Antagonism arose between the city and the country on the one hand and the other social classes, on the other. It was a time of great social instability.

The third period was from 496 A. D. to 1270 A. D. During this time prosperity was built up again under the leadership of the Christian clergy and feudal governmental institutions. Christianity, feudalism, and feudal monarchy through mutual support gradually recreated society. "This great epoch of good usages and internal peace and prosperity reached its climax during the reign of Saint Louis (1226 to 1270). France then exhibited the well-developed germs of the best institutions which, up to

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

that time, had ever been created by human societies."⁵ This, according to Le Play, was the Golden Age of France.

The fourth period was from 1270 A. D. to 1589 A. D. and was one of degeneration occasioned by corruption among the clergy and royalty under the last of the Valois kings. "Just as the seeds of reform had slowly germinated in the midst of the Gallo-Roman decline, the symptoms of a relapse were often exhibited in feudal societies in the midst of apparent prosperity."⁶ Vice, skepticism, and schism appeared in French society.

Then followed the fifth period, from 1589 to 1691 A. D., which was one of prosperity owing to the restoration of the mores deriving from the reform in the church. This period of 100 years nearly enabled the society to recuperate from the suffering which had appeared during the years from 1270 to 1589.

The sixth period which followed was one of increasing social skepticism and disorganization which led to social wars (the revolutions following 1789) and social instability. It was in this period that Le Play lived and it was his ambition to have society understand the causes of its suffering in order that it might cure itself.

The Forces of Change. The forces which produce these changes in any particular society are to be found, according to Le Play, in the inherent evil of the human heart. Le Play did not believe with Rousseau that man is born good, but rather that the individual is selfish by nature and tends to do things which are inimical to social peace and stability. Society has recognized this inherent badness of pure individualism and has sought to control it through the mores and through the social structure. However, periods of prosperity place any people in a situation where they tend to be careless of their mores and of the preservation of a strong social structure so that the causes of suffering creep into the hearts of societies when they are most prosperous. On the other hand, lack of prosperity stimulates the people to increase

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

the strength of their mores and to reinforce their social structure in order to bring back social prosperity. Thus, he found that the standard of living of any particular people is a combination of individual nature and of the rules of the social structure. The symptoms of decline of prosperity are to be found in six practices and beliefs. These are the increasing spirit of revolt and contempt for national customs, the suppression of former leaders who have interpreted the mores to the people (local social authorities), the excessive intervention of government in local life, the increasing attention paid to speech reactions ("Whilst men who practise the truth keep silent, those who speak and write the most are employed in propagating error!"), the corruption of language which enables individuals to attack the social structure under the guise of *liberty, progress, equality or democracy*, and an exaggerated importance ascribed to forms of government rather than to their content and practices. A part of this last practice is that of blaming the government for deficiencies in the individual or in the social systems. The symptoms of purification and prosperity are the opposite of the above six practices.

Family Types. Le Play developed a system of sociology which is very close to that of some of the early Chinese social theorists.⁷ The fundamental idea of this system is that society depends upon certain structural relationships. He emphasized particularly two forms of relationship—those within the family and those between the employer and the worker—an analysis by classification. The first of these classifications concerns the type of family which he considered the most important social unit. He recognized other forms of aggregation, such as nations, social classes, etc., but to him it appeared that the family is the ultimate social unit which reflects all the important characteristics of a society. He did not follow any evolutionary hypothesis but developed his theories in accordance with the system of functional relationships. He believed that the family is influenced by other forms of social organization and he saw the family in its turn influencing these

⁷ See "The Councils of Kāo-Yāo" in the *Shâ King*, S.B.E., Tr. by J. Legge, Vol. III, Oxford, 1879.

other forms. He thought that the family will sooner or later reflect the conditions within the society. His classification of the family unit is based on a system parallel with his classification of societies and of types of standards of living. He recognized "simple" but strong societies, and societies which are broken. In the same way, he found three major types of families—the patriarchal, the *famille-souche*, and the unstable type.

The patriarchal family, which is found in simple but strong societies, was one in which the spirit of the family is that of preservation. It has a stable and permanent relationship with its fireside, it is faithful to traditions, and it establishes its married children near the homestead in order to watch over them and to preserve them. When economic conditions become difficult, it migrates as a unit. Individuals will leave the family temporarily but they are still under the protection and the dominance of the family. This type of family is associated with the standard of living of simple prosperity. The people do not, as in some other societies, have a high material standard of consumption of goods, but their well-being is more permanent than that of some other societies and the non-material phases of the standard of living are highly developed.

The opposite type of family is the unstable one. It has no particularly permanent attachment to its hearth and it is inspired by the lust for social change. Its relationship with the past and with the future is insignificant. This type of family is established by the marriage of the parents. It increases in size with the birth of the children, it decreases in size when the children leave home, and it disappears as a unit with the death of the parents. Traditions and family history have little meaning for it. In such a family the individual depends more upon himself for a standard of living and, in case of serious accidents, unemployment or other calamities, he suffers unless some extra-family agency, such as the government, takes care of him or unless he has accumulated sufficient property to take care of himself. This type of a family is to be found in complex societies which are suffering. The individual can have a high consumption of material goods when he is well

and employed and when there is general economic prosperity in the society. However, since the individual has no family tradition to hold him in check and since he is always stimulated to spend his wages for conspicuous consumption, recurring periods of economic insecurity cause a great deal of physical hardship.

The third type is the *famille-souche*, a type of family which incorporates some of the characteristics of the patriarchal family and some of the characteristics of the unstable family. "*Souche*" is a French term oftentimes applied to vines, such as the grape, which have a stem or trunk from which cuttings may be taken each year. The trunk or stem furnishes new growth the next year and even if the cuttings die the trunk still lives. The term is also applied to families operating under a system of primogeniture or some other system of inheritance whereby the property and traditions of the family come down from one generation to the next in a fixed line of succession. Le Play applies the term to the family which maintains a homestead for its immediate members and sends the other members elsewhere to make their own living. In case of misfortune, the other members often secure temporary subsistence and aid from the *souche* or stem. Thus, the *souche* keeps up the traditions and preserves the family, while the other members go freely into industry and employments, thus making it possible for the society to combine both preservation and change. Those who leave the homestead are entitled to participate in the family property but not to such an extent as to menace the well-being of the heir who stayed at home. This type of family, according to Le Play, is associated with societies which are complex but also prosperous. He tried to show that fundamental prosperity is associated not only with a well-developed material standard of living but with a social system organized to preserve this standard of living.

The Organization of Labor. In his analysis of the relations between employer and employee or patron and worker, Le Play had two general theories—one of these may be called that of the six principles and the other may be called his theory of engagements. The six principles are outlined as follows:

The usages which furnish the truest indications of the material and moral health of places of labor—those which I name essential—are to be especially recognized by two characteristics; they are all abandoned in the manufacturing groups of western Europe, in which the extreme evils of pauperism exist; they are all found existing in establishments and localities where harmony reigns, attended with stability and comfort. They may be grouped under the six following heads: first, permanence of the reciprocal engagements existing between the proprietor and his workmen; second, perfect understanding in regard to the rates of wages; third, alliance between the laborers of the workshops and domestic industries, rural or manufacturing; fourth, habits of economy, securing respect to the family and the establishment of children; fifth, indissoluble union between the family and fireside; sixth, respect and protection given to women . . . the observance of the six essential usages of Custom everywhere indicates the existence of prosperity; while the absence of these same usages coincides invariably with a state of decline.⁸

It was in his theory of engagements, however, that Le Play analyzed the system of relations between employer and employee as he had the type of family and the standard of living. The three types of engagements were called *permanent-forced*, *permanent-voluntary*, and *momentary*. By the permanent-forced engagement, he meant a system of labor in which the workers are permanently attached to their jobs or to their patron or to their community, if this is the industrial unit, either by custom or by written law. Conditions such as these are to be found in simple societies operating under the feudal system or in societies in which the customs have given the people a low index of mobility. During Le Play's time he found such conditions in most of eastern Europe and Russia where the peasants or workers were bound either by law or by custom to their community or to a seigneur. This type of organization of labor is found to be associated with a strong social structure and with a simple but prosperous standard

⁸ Le Play, F., *The Organization of Labor*, Tr. by Emerson, pp. 121-2, Philadelphia, 1872.

of living, providing the other usages or principles of relationships between employer and employee are also carried out.

The permanent-voluntary engagement consists of an organization of labor in which the workers are permanently attached by their own free will to a patron or an employer either by custom or by long term contracts. Sometimes such engagements are found between a community and the individual. In engagements such as this the worker can terminate relations with his employer or *vice versa* at any time or at the expiration of any contract. However, it generally happens that the individual remains permanently at his job. In times of prosperity he prefers the long-time security of his job even at a lower rate of pay than under some other arrangement. In times of depression the employer or patron makes it his business to see that the worker is provided with subsistence at least as far as the necessities of life are concerned. In practice, this type of relationship works out as a sort of customary insurance against unemployment and starvation. A part of it is accomplished through additions to the family budget in the shape of subventions. In a great many cases the patrons or employers operating under this system of engagements insist that the workers combine industry and agriculture. The individual has his home, his food, his fuel, and many of the other necessities of life. In case of a depression in which the employer can no longer pay full-time wages or the same rate of wages, the individual family expands its gardening and agricultural activities so it is assured the necessities of life. Under conditions such as these the patron or employer takes an interest in his workers and by advice and suggestions keeps them from spending all of their income during upswings of the business cycle. This type of engagement is associated with the *famille-souche* and with the complex but prosperous standard of living. Le Play believed that such conditions predominated in northern Europe during his time.

The third type of engagement is the momentary, the type of free and changing labor contract with which we are so familiar in America today. The worker is hired for the job and fired when the job is finished. If there is a depression the worker is

given no work, nor does he receive any subventions from his employer. There is no personal relationship or interest existing between the employer and the employee. It is a case where every man takes care of himself. If the worker does not save, he must either starve or have a government or community bounty paid him during times of depression. Strife appears between the employers and the workers, and social peace and stability are threatened. This is the system of engagements to be found principally in societies which are beginning to suffer. Periods of depression increase the war between the classes and the whole social structure is endangered. This type of engagement is to be found associated with the instable type of family. Corporations replace the individual firm or the community as employers. This is the type of relationship which Le Play believed was developing in France in his time and was threatening the existence of the State.

CHAPTER VI

The Family and Society in Nineteenth Century Europe

The full meaning of Le Play's theories are seen partly by his analysis of nineteenth century Europe. Between 1829 and 1878 Le Play worked in and studied practically all the important sections of Europe, so that his observations were made first-hand. He divided the Europeans into five types: (1) prosperous workers in eastern Europe existing with the patriarchal family and the feudal system, (2) prosperous workers in northern Europe combining industry and agriculture under the *souche* family, (3) prosperous workers in western Europe located principally in the places where mobility was not great, (4) prosperous families in western Europe preserved by individual adjustment in a decadent social structure, and (5) families in western Europe decaying under the influence of a disorganized social structure.

1. Simple but Prosperous Peoples. Concerning the prosperous families living in eastern Europe, Le Play presented nine studies. The first of these concerned the Bachirs or semi-Nomadic pastoral people in the Ural Mountains of eastern Russia. These combined ordinary labor, craftsmanship, and proprietary interests in the same household. The well-being of the individual was provided for by strong customs of community responsibility. The second case consisted of peasants and wheelwrights living under the feudal system on the black soil steppes of southern Russia. These combined labor, craftsmanship, and proprietary interests in the same household along with permanent and forced relations between the social classes under the feudal system. The well-being of the family was secured by the extent of available land, the co-operation within the family, the right of seigniorial property, subventions granted by the lord, and the aid of the lord

in times of unusual need. The third consisted of serfs engaged in mining in the Ural Mountains of northern Russia. The workers labored exclusively for the lord-proprietor, who furnished the means of existence at all times. The system was about halfway between agricultural serfdom and the free-laborer régime in the industrial countries of western Europe. The fourth group is illustrated in a case study of a Russian carpenter who, after working 220 days each year for his lord, had developed an important trade in flour and grain during the rest of the year. The carpenter had acquired a home and several hectares of land. He is a representative of those families which went into commercial pursuits after they had satisfied their feudal obligations. The fifth case was for a group of Russian peasants who settled their feudal dues in cash. The younger members worked for the money necessary to support the family as boatmen, porters, and tradesmen. The others tilled the parental farm. Absent members were taken care of by a Russian co-operative society known as the *Artel*. The sixth case was of a Bulgarian iron smelter in the mines of Samokawa, where the workers were free in principle but, owing to their debts, were living in fact under a feudal régime. Part-time farming was done on lands belonging to the local mosque. In addition to the subsidies of the feudal system the people received charity in accordance with the precepts of the Mohammedan religion. They had free use of the land for their homesteads.

Another group comprised the feudal peasants living on the plains of central Hungary, where the system of social organization represents a transitional stage between the eastern feudal and the western free labor systems of Europe. The domain of the feudal lord was cultivated by fixed services of several kinds. The tenants had all the rights of private property save those of mortgage and sale. The people were prevented by the feudal system from hypothecating their property to the money lender, but there was no tendency toward saving.

The eighth group was illustrated by a Syrian family living in the Turkish Empire under conditions of permissive polygyny. Extensive agriculture was pursued, each family owning its work-

ing tools but without permanent right to any particular land. The last group was exemplified by the case history of a skilled carpenter and woodworker in the city of Angiers, Morocco. This man owned a shop and had four or five assistants. His history was given to show the combined influence of the Mohammedan religion and family solidarity upon the well-being of the individual.

The families of these groups lived in those regions where, according to Le Play, the people were prosperous owing to a strong social structure based upon agriculture and the patriarchal family. The people had strong mores and traditions and sufficient soil and natural resources to furnish subsistence. In addition to these conditions, the population was immobile and did not have many contacts with foreign customs. Few knew of city life and its ideas of social conflict. The family, with its numerous children and its tradition, was a pervasive influence.

No group of human beings is completely free from social discord and suffering. The afflictions of the families described were calamities and epidemics. Some of these people, trained in the spirit of obedience to paternal authority submitted with resignation to oppression by the governmental authorities. According to Le Play this was insignificant in contrast to the suffering under other forms of social structure. But there was a tendency for "decadent" influences from the other sections of European society to spread themselves among these people.

2. Complex but Prosperous Peoples. For this type of family Le Play turned principally to northeastern Europe. Here he seemed to find a combination of strong mores with the material benefits of the industrial system. This he believed had been achieved through the development of the *souche* family, which combined the advantages of the patriarchal family with the industrial mobility of the instable family.

The first case he describes is that of a forger in the steel mills of Dannemora in northern Sweden, a pieceworker under a system of voluntary labor agreements which were continued year after

year through the harmonious relations between employer and employee. The people were halfway between the feudal system and the individualized industrial system. The patron tried to combine the system of piecework with that of pay according to the needs of the employee. Hence, a part of the income was represented by the use of a house and garden and the privilege to buy food and grain at a lower-than-market price. The relation between patron and worker had continued from generation to generation. He took care of the worker during depressions.

The next case concerned a founder in the cobalt works of Buskerud of southern Norway, who represents the industrial branch of the *souche* family. It showed that religious beliefs and obedience to paternal authority may give the people such a solidarity that crises are easily bridged.

The third family was a miner of Hartz in Hanover, Germany. He was on such good terms with his employer that his job was quite permanent. Although the workers were paid by piece, the employer raised or reduced the rate in order to give the family a fairly steady income from one week to another. The corporation of mines guaranteed the family against crises, but material standards of living were low. The homes and gardens, the fairly certain employment, and a subsidy of food prices made the people secure and happy. To prevent an increase in the population here as well as in other mining districts of Germany, marriage was prohibited to anyone less than twenty-five years of age. This led as elsewhere to prenuptial relationships and to numerous natural children, who were nearly always legitimized by later marriage.

The fourth case dealt with a combination of domestic industry and agriculture in Westphalia, Germany, represented by a man who was a skilled swordsmith who also did part-time farming. The fifth case described a coast fisherman of northern Holland, a boat owner who typified independent fishing people. The women took care of the household and educated the children while the men fished. The sixth was that of a pieceworker who worked at home for the cutlery works of London and did not engage in agriculture. But in addition to his regular work he repaired and

ground knives for his neighbors and did the greater part of the marketing. The home life was marked by strong mores. The wife cared for the house, carried materials, and finished work for her husband. The next was similar to the sixth, except that the couple combined gardening and pig raising with their domestic cutlery work. The eighth case described a carpenter and joiner in Sheffield, England, where the worker had no domestic factory but maintained himself by his excellent and permanent relations with his employer. The ninth case was that of a founder in the steel mills near the coal mines of Derbyshire. The well-being of this type was assured by the moral qualities of the worker and by good relations with the employer.

These nine cases were typical, according to Le Play, of workers in northwestern Europe who had a strong social structure based primarily upon a type of family which enabled some branches to reside at the domestic hearth and others to migrate and enter industry. They had strong mores and respect for tradition as well as a complex social division of labor. There was a tendency to combine agriculture and industry and to develop permanent voluntary employer-employee relationships. These conditions show many of the advantages of the forced patronage under the feudal system. While there was a good deal of actual suffering among the people, the social structure kept it from becoming serious. These are the things which Le Play claimed to have found, but the cases do not always seem to bear out his claims. At no place does he correlate the stem-family idea as he saw it closely with the cases.

3. Prosperous Families Living in Southwestern Europe. This group living in southern and western Europe was considered an exception to the trend toward mobility, specialization, and social instability to be found in that area. It was presented to show how some families had adjusted themselves to the type of life prevailing in southwestern Europe and had preserved a strong social structure. Most of these families were found only in the isolated rural districts.

The first study dealt with the Slovakian miners near Schemnitz and Carinthia, Hungary. According to Le Play they were

living under the social disorganization of the West and yet showed all the characteristics of stability and spontaneous happiness of the less industrialized peoples of the East. The families were small on account of marriage regulations similar to those described earlier. The well-being of the family was assured by its share of communal rights and by the ancient guild organization of the corporations of mines of Germany. Many families had the additional guarantee of security in the possession of their houses and gardens. Relations between employer and employee were voluntary but permanent. The second study was similar to the first, except that it dealt with the day laborers of an iron foundry on a feudal domain near Coblenz. The same conditions were also to be found in many parts of Saxony. Here the families had permanent relations of a voluntary nature with their employers, owned their homes, and did part-time farming.

The third case described an agricultural share-tenant of Tuscany, Italy, where relations between landlord and tenant were also voluntary but permanent. This family, which tilled 7½ hectares under share-tenancy, was considered typical of the largest class of agricultural workers of Tuscany. They lived an independent, thrifty life and did very little work for the proprietor. Debts to the landlord were paid by labor. This system of habitual tenancy had all the stable qualities attributed to peasant proprietorship. The landlord kept the savings of the tenants in a "running account."

The next family was that of a tinsmith in Aix-les-Bains, France, a town of less than 5000 population which was rapidly becoming industrialized. In addition to his occupation the head of the house kept a small glass and metal shop tended by his wife in which he sold small objects often made by himself. The family was typical of the industrial type with no strong connections with its past generations or collateral branches. It was attached nominally to the Roman Catholic Church but, other than diet, followed few of its practices. The habitual sentiment of the two adults was a kind of irritation against the upper and more successful classes of society. These antagonistic sentiments are symptomatic of the en-

feeblement of the so-called *social constitution*. Thus, the family represents a sample of a diseased society where religion, paternal authority, and family spirit are weakened by rapid social change and industrialization. The family is halfway between the worker and the business class and occupies an uncertain status which prevails in the West. The chief assurance of its well-being lies in its own industry and the moral qualities it inculcates and not in any other stable social relationships.

Another was a share-tenant in Old Castile, Spain, where the men spend a part of each year as migratory farm laborers. The worker belonged to the more prosperous class of peasants in Revilla and was able to save money for a farm of his own. The thriftiness and desire to advance of this group had made it a minority in the community. Its standard of living was improved by its sharing in the communal rights, foresight in accumulating property, and the mores regarding work and thrift.

The sixth group consisted of coast fishermen. Many such families, in both Europe and Asia, are included in the Le Play cases. This particular family was that of a master of a fishing bark in a village near Guipuscoa, Spain, who spends the winter fishing and the summer at dock labor. Well-being seemed to depend upon a half interest in the fishing bark (private property), and assistance from mutual insurance among the members of the fishing industry (associational guarantee).

The next case was that of a typical farm laborer and tenant of Lower Brittany, a day laborer with voluntary but permanent relations with the employer. A somewhat similar case was that of a peasant soapmaker at Marseilles, France. His eight children, instead of discouraging him, were his inspiration. Paternal authority had great prestige. The worker was on excellent terms with his patron and was not interested in "the class struggle." The well-being of the group lay chiefly in strong mores regarding mutual aid, in the combination of agriculture and industry, and in the avoidance of the partitioning of homesteads prescribed since 1789 by French property law. The last case concerned a French peasant community on the Spanish border in the Pyrenees where

farm ownership was widespread, and agriculture was combined with industry.

Le Play held that these nine families of western Europe were vestiges of types which were more prevalent there before the urbanization and industrialization which began in the latter Middle Ages. The changes connected with these two movements gradually disrupted the social structure. This disruption spread from country to country and from the city districts to the rural districts. As a result stable families of the West are to be found only in the more isolated sections and in places where agriculture plays a large part in the life of the people.

4. Families of Workers Adjusted to a Decadent Social Structure. The social process of western Europe had become so fluid (*ébranler*), owing to repeated invasions of social change, that traditions had disappeared and the people were unfaithful to their ancient mores or to family authority. Most of the families lived almost entirely on wages and were trying to replace the former guarantees of well-being by community (state) responsibility, by the development of individual private property, or by employer responsibility for the workers. To illustrate the types of families which had apparently adjusted themselves to a decaying society, the following nine families were reported.

The first was that of a journeyman carpenter in Vienna. Although nominally the worker and employer had only temporary relations, the element of permanency was evident. While his trade formed the exclusive work of the man, the woman did 120 days' work at glovemaking at home in addition to her domestic duties, and the eldest son (age fifteen) had just been apprenticed to the corporation of carpenters where he received lodging and part of his clothing. Machine production had been a large factor in keeping wages low although the employer of the husband closely resembled the old type of patron. The old institutions for preserving the social and economic well-being of family life were disappearing rapidly. In time of crisis, the majority of workers turned to public relief for the means of subsistence. The state of things was particularly aggravated in Vienna by public regu-

lations against marriages among the poor. These had led to an over-emphasis of the extra-family sex life. The transmission of solidarity from earlier times had preserved this society from complete disruption, but it was so enfeebled that unless reforms were brought about general social disorganization was inevitable.

The next case was that of a weaver at Godesberg in the Rhine Province of Germany, who was paid by the piece according to a system of temporary engagements. Here social solidarity was being menaced by the introduction of steam machinery for weaving. The third described a Brussels typesetter, in whose case there was also apparent the social disruption arising from the introduction of the factory system. This particular family was one in which the old feudal social structure had been reorganized mainly upon the basis of a voluntary employer-employee relationship. Although he was a member of associations which provided aid for enforced idleness and which maintained the wage level, the future well-being of the family was endangered, since there were no savings. The workers were trying to strengthen their society by the formation of labor unions. However, this had led merely to an aggravation in the class struggle. The competent individual sometimes rose very rapidly, only to find his companions envious and himself nervous as to the maintenance of his higher economic position.

Another case dealt with a silver miner in Auvergne, France, where the men were hired on a temporary free contract basis, but the mine owners were beginning to make some provision for the moral and intellectual development of the people. The once strong social structure of rural Auvergne had been almost destroyed by the inheritance provisions of the Napoleonic Code concerning equal division of property. These had been abrogated by the mining corporations in order to preserve the solidarity and well-being of their employees. A fifth case was that of a Basque peasant at Labourd, France, where the law for equal distribution of real property among the heirs had also been partly contravened by the mores. The worker owned five hectares of land and spent his spare time pasturing cattle or working at nearby fairs and

markets. The family was in a precarious condition owing to the indolence and thriftlessness of the chief of the household. But the homestead was still a unit and offered some security, and the mores of the community assured further aid in case of calamities, such as fires, etc.

Another was that of an agricultural laborer at Nivernais, France, where the family was preserved by the continuance of local customs of patronage. A degree of well-being was assured the worker by the regularity of agricultural work and by the patronage of the principal property owners of the community. The worker had no ambition to improve his condition.

The seventh example was that of another agricultural laborer living about twenty kilometers from Rheims, France, an agricultural section where the social structure was almost completely destroyed. This particular family was held together by the energetic qualities of the wife and by the ownership of land. When the man had no agricultural labor, he found work on the nearby canal or made bricks. The woman contributed to the family income by working as seamstress, helping in the fields at harvest time, caring for the home and the garden, and sewing for the family. The eldest daughter spent part of each year as an apprentice in a linen shop where she received board. The newly acquired land instead of the tavern was occupying the husband's spare time more and more.

The next concerned a laundryman in Clichy, one of the suburbs of Paris, where the laborer had made his own adjustments by accumulating property. He was a peasant who had migrated to the city and saved 16,000 francs, with which he planned to return and purchase a farm. Well-being was assured by the personal habits of industry and saving (a private matter which does not depend very much on immediate controls in the social structure according to Le Play).

The last case dealt with a carpenter in Paris. It illustrates how particular families were preserved by the old guild labor organizations. The worker had occupied a position as overseer with the same employer for some years and had no other employment.

The wife spent some time as a seamstress in addition to her domestic duties. Without foresight or the desire to save, the family had no provision for the future.

These nine cases attempt to show how many families had substituted community responsibility (political and private), such as public charity, benefit associations, and labor unions as well as private property or good permanent voluntary relations with their employers for the former guarantees of the feudal or agricultural systems. They were trying to preserve themselves in a changing social system. Types of families which did not succeed in making any kind of adjustment are analyzed in the next group.

5. Complex but Disorganized Societies with Disorganized and Suffering Families. These families are presented as the complete antithesis of the "simple but prosperous people" from eastern Europe analyzed above in section one. As a general rule, the families had failed to make either individual or collective adjustments as a safeguard against the exigencies of life. Crises were marked by great suffering, by an increase of antagonism between the social classes, and by attempts to hold the government responsible for the welfare of the people. Wealth, science, and power were misused by the upper classes, and false ideas concerning liberty, equality, and the right of revolt were held by the lower classes.

The first case dealt with a mercury miner of Carniola, Austria, who was paid according to the amount of rock mined. The only guarantees of well-being for the family in case of unemployment or other catastrophes were mutual insurance societies. The second was that of a watchmaker in a domestic piecework factory at Geneva, where the workers and the industrial heads often had bitter discussions about salaries, which caused a permanent irritation of class relationships in spite of frequent mutual concessions. Le Play held that this "class struggle" was a first symptom of social disorganization in modern western Europe. The workers tended to imitate the bourgeois class in regard to small families, polish, sophistication, and a "spending" standard of living. The

have little or no responsibility to the mores, to religion, or to each other. Le Play thought this type of thing led to social disruption during crises, to revolutions, class wars, and to all of the ills which break up and cause the decline of civilizations. He was interested in developing some form of social structure which would prevent the appearance of many such types of families. Before we discuss his ideas further, let us make a statistical comparison of the various groups.

COMPARISON BY STATISTICAL METHOD

A statistical comparison of some of the characteristics of his families is shown in the following table:

LE PLAY FAMILIES ARRANGED BY TYPES

Type of Family	Average Income	Average Size of Family	Income per Person
	Francs	Persons	Francs
Simple but prosperous peoples	3,100	10.0	310
Complex but prosperous peoples	2,109	5.6	378
Prosperous families preserved in southwestern Europe	2,105	7.0	300
Families of workers adjusted to decadent social structure	1,696	5.6	303
Complex but disorganized societies with disorganized and suffering families	1,493	5.4	276

These figures illustrate that the size of the family showed some tendency to decline in changing from one patriarchal family to the *famille-souche* in northern Europe and in changing from the families which had preserved themselves in southern Europe toward the disorganized and unstable type. Income per capita was about the same for each group except that the complex but prosperous peoples of northern Europe had an unusually high income and the disorganized and unstable families of southern Europe had the lowest income. *The chief difference as far as income in money or goods is concerned is that the simpler peoples of eastern*

Europe secured less than half of their income in money whereas all the others secure from 70 to 90 percent in money on the average. However, there were many exceptions because the percent of income in money for the nine patriarchal families ranged from 9 to 96 percent and the other groups had ranges of a somewhat similar nature. In general, there was a tendency for the simple but prosperous peoples to spend a small percent (median 47.6 percent) for food and a much higher percent for industries, debts, taxes, and insurance than the other group. The prosperous families preserved in southwestern Europe were the ones which did the most saving.

However, it must be recognized that fundamentally the chief differences between these families are not statistical in nature. Too few families were analyzed to be representative of their respective societies. It is doubtful if they are representative, at least of the "average" family. The data were not gathered with statistical comparisons in view. Finally, the differences which Le Play found between them were not easily susceptible of statistical measurement. One can seldom secure such information as this during a violent crisis because the family has disappeared or when social conditions are such that the families are unwilling to give the information or the workers are not available. Even the Le Play School abandoned its work temporarily during all those numerous crises which involved France in the 19th century. This suggests that the method used by Le Play for the study of the standard of living was something entirely original and was different from the so-called statistical study, by which his results cannot be tested. With that conclusion in mind, let us continue.

It seems apparent now that Le Play studied the fundamental change from the feudal to the factory system. In the out-of-the-way districts of the interior, he found the social structure of the Middle Ages with its solidarity, its self-sufficiency, and its permanent and mutually binding obligations between the social classes. In most of the communities he found the domestic factory system developing the ideas of free labor and money economy, but not yet entirely divorced from the traditions and mutual class rela-

tionships of the feudal system. In the more industrialized communities he found traces of the free, individualistic, and mobile factory system with its more rapid pace, its division of labor, and its antagonism between the social classes. Clearly this is what Le Play studied.

Now what are the inferences and theories which Le Play drew from these data? First, he observed a trend from vertical solidarity (mutual responsibility between the patron and worker) toward the breaking up of this occupational alignment. This was followed by attempts on the part of the worker and employer to replace these forms of responsibility with associations on a lateral scale (labor unions, workers' mutual aid societies, and employers' associations) and with other vertical social bonds enforced by class bargaining or by the intervention of the community or the government between the employer and employee. The individualized laborer first looked about for protection and sought it in lateral organization. When this lateral organization alone could not accomplish the job, he resorted to bargaining with the employer, the state, or the community. Since these organizations had to have funds to contribute to the standard of living of the worker, they were forced again to turn, either by law or by the seeking of voluntary gifts, to the employer class.

The author interpreted this process to mean that social stability was a fundamental requisite of civilized society. Since this stability had already been achieved in the feudal system and the people had reached a condition of happiness under it, his first reaction was that no leader should undertake the responsibility for breaking up the old order. A change might "improve" part of the standard of living of the people but it might "harm" another part. In this frame of mind he advised the Czar of Russia that the emancipation of the Russian serfs would lead to a great deal of social disruption regardless of the other consequences of "freedom."¹

His second fundamental conclusion was that these changes

¹ For a discussion of this whole movement in Russia, see G. T. Robinson, *Rural Russia Under the Old Régime*, New York, 1932.

in the structure of society and in the standard of living were a part of a self-generating series of cycles in the economic history of man. On the basis of this idea he concluded logically that a real contribution to the life of the people could be made by slowing down or retarding this social movement so that the times of prosperity would last longer and the times of suffering would be shorter and less drastic. "Progress" should move slowly. In the opinion of Le Play France, which had already moved past the period of prosperity, needed stable conditions more than "positivism" already too far advanced in France. Le Play thought measures should be taken to preserve old customs or to slow down the social movement toward change.

Le Play also maintained that there was a definite *type* of family associated with each important stage of the whole cycle—*i.e.*, *patriarchal*, *stem*, and *individualist* families. He believed this so strongly that he seemed to find differences in families which are not readily apparent to other observers. A careful study of his cases seems to show differences in prosperity and suffering for the same types of families. Different types of families seem to exist among groups on similar levels of prosperity or suffering. Possibly *Le Play confused relative degrees of strength and weakness within the same general type of family with variations in types of families*. Furthermore, he may have failed to appreciate that any social system has many compensating factors. Perhaps he did not recognize the full significance of social compensation. For instance, it may be said that present America has a weaker family system than it has had in the past. Nevertheless, a crisis may be followed by a tremendous increase in the strength of the family, particularly for those groups of families whose general social position will not allow them to go to public charity. Of all the millions out of work in America in the years since 1929, it is evident that the family has played a much greater rôle in preservation than has generally been credited to it. The same conclusion may apply to individuals within the family. When one weakens, the others often support him. A number of Le Play's own cases cited earlier in this chapter illustrate this.

A fourth idea which is implied in the Le Play studies concerns the length of any cycle in the standard of living. Le Play could see difficulties in the *laissez faire* system but he could not understand the strength of the devices which pushed it far beyond the limits which he imagined. In part this is possibly due to the fact that some fortunate individuals tend to escape many of the bad consequences of any social system. Some men profit even by crime in spite of the most rigid attempts of society to make this a "non-paying" occupation. It is this kind of gambling chance which leads many, as individuals, to forge ahead within all social systems which may be socially disastrous in the long run. Of particular importance is the fact that decisions concerning any social system are made by the individuals who cannot see the suffering which the changes may cause. Decisions are often made by young adults with short memories or little experience. The man "who spends his money now" is not always in a position to see himself under the resulting conditions at a later date. Thus, until winter comes we cannot feel its cold. Perhaps Le Play did not fully understand this impetuosity and blindness of the social system.

Other implications are inherent in the Le Play method and conclusions but the preceding are the more important.

Whether or not Le Play reached his beliefs by scientific methods and clear logic, he is the outstanding example of the sociologist who watched the development of the *laissez faire* system and pointed out its evils. He predicted that man would break up many valuable institutions in striving for a high level of consumption of goods. Le Play held that the social as well as the material phases of life must go together. An organic social system was necessary even to the capitalist world. His idea of "social" included strong mores to instill caution and conservatism in the masses. A seemingly good decision now may be disastrous in the long run. Rightly or wrongly, this is Le Playism. It is an attempt to analyze the structural significance of the social standard of living in relation to the economic. It is a study of family and society.

CHAPTER VII

The Stem Family

During the past century as shown earlier there has been increased discussion concerning the family and its place in society. The world of the urbanite is different from that of his grandparents. Man has extended his material culture, which seems to have become an end in itself, to such a degree as to color all human activity, and is making a serious attempt to become "the determinant of human destiny."

During this time the population of the world has increased at a very rapid rate. Central Europe increased in population from 200 millions to 465 millions during the 19th century. North and South America increased from 20 million to over 200 million. In the United States in 1870 the population numbered roughly eighty million, and in 1930 over 120 million. The conditions of life under which these increasing numbers live have also been changing rapidly. In 1870 three-fourths of the people of the United States were rural. The 266 cities and towns had a total population of eight million. Fifty years later there were 824 cities and an urban population of over 46 million people. Today about 70 percent of the population is urbanized, and the condition of life in the remaining rural areas is greatly influenced by urban ideas. American life as a whole is being standardized with great rapidity on a pattern set by urban values.

There have been equally rapid changes in the external aspects of culture. The growth of the railroad, steamship, telephone, automobile, radio, and many other means of communication and transportation has been rapid, at least through the beginning of the 20th century.

In every aspect, American life is tending toward urbanization and away from the simple provincial folk who live upon the soil,

close to nature and under the influence of a rural philosophy of life. The total population, and particularly the urban, has become more dependent upon complex mechanisms and elaborate organizations for the means of living and the satisfaction of human wants. These transitions to a highly complex urban society tend to influence the family. The transformation from a "farmer-peasant economy" to a "money economy"¹ has increased the process of urbanization. Truly we are living in a critical and interesting age.

Le Play lived in a time when this movement was making great headway in Europe. He thought about many of the problems which we now face. He observed the urbanization of Europe, pointed out what he thought were the dangers, and recommended family forms adapted to the new situation. In this chapter we give more detailed attention to the stem-family, *famille-souche*, which he presented as a form of the family adapted to maintain social bonds in a highly urbanized country.²

For Le Play, the family was the basic social unit. It was the most important institution, in which one found all the necessary elements of society, and which reflected all the ills of the social order. The family "by a remarkable favor of Providence has within its very structure the beneficent qualities of the individual and those of association." This fundamental institution, according to Le Play, could not be weakened greatly without loss and decay in the society. At the same time, all phases of the family were not to be considered static elements in society. Its form undergoes changes and thus gives each social system certain essential characteristics. The essential family functions remain unchanged from generation to generation; but the form can change repeatedly.

¹ Sorokin, P. A., and Zimmerman, C. C., *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York, 1929, Ch. 27.

² The following sources will be helpful for further study: Le Play, Frédéric, *Le réforme sociale*, Tours, 1887, Vol. I, Book III, Ch. 24-30 on the family; *L'organisation de la famille*, 1875; *Petite bibliothèque économique*, chapter on agriculture; also Schaeffle, A. E., *Das gesellschaftliche System der menschlichen Wirtschaft*, Tübingen, 1877, pp. 357-74; Sorokin, P. A., *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, New York, 1928, pp. 600-659; and Pinot, R., "La classification des espèces de la famille par Le Play, est-elle exacte?" *Brochure de propagande*.

Le Play centered his attention on three general types of families.⁸ Two are extreme, "the patriarchal" and the "unstable," while the third is intermediate. This is the "*famille-souche*" or stem-family.

The patriarchal family was common among the "pastoral people of the Orient, among the Russian peasants and the Slavonic peasants of Central Europe," according to Le Play. In this family organization the father keeps all his male progeny near home and governs them with supreme authority. All property remains in the hands of the head of the household. Savings of the family are accumulated by the father or the head. Le Play found that this system broke down when the capacity of the home or the domestic economic establishment was no longer able to cope with the fecundity of the couples—the children leaving the parental house to establish themselves elsewhere. The patriarch at this time establishes a new domicile or branch of the household or assists some of the members of the old household to emigrate and establish their own. The head of the original family designates the "patriarchal head of the new household." In nomadic life this tendency to break away from the paternal household was slowed down by the rigorous struggle for existence.

The psychological foundation of the patriarchal family was its strong familistic, religious, and moral beliefs which maintained "the respect for established order in the régime of work and in social habits more than it developed the spirit of initiative." In this state of restraint, the family regulates and often restricts the rise of superior individuals. Le Play found that these restrictions upon the development of the individual by the too complete integration of the family constituted the chief weakness of this patriarchal family type.

⁸ We do not find in any of the writings of Le Play specific reference to the "particularist type" as developed by the later writers of the school, such as Demolins, Pinot, and de Rousiers. Perhaps Le Play would not have been favorably impressed by the arguments of his followers that such a particularist family type was most likely to succeed in building a strong familistic society. Pinot's classification of the stem-family is an incorrect interpretation of Le Play's idea. While the stem-family has some characteristics of the patriarchal type, it is not quasi-Patriarchal but a type peculiar to itself. It was in no sense the particularist family.

The opposite or the unstable family was found in Le Play's time among the large mass of workers who had come under the influence of the new and growing industrial order. Here Le Play discovered a movement away from family solidarity as soon as the children reached maturity. The children were early freed from family obligations and established their own family units. Each child received his share of the family "dowry" to spend as he saw fit and "to enjoy the fruits of his labor." The individual, thus free from parental or family responsibility, developed a high degree of individualism. On the other hand, these individuals tended to fall quickly into a miserable condition, particularly if they were not exceedingly clever or lucky. This depraved state of misery tended to perpetuate itself because the parents could no longer, as under the patriarchal régime, contribute savings to the establishment or the aid of their children. The moral sanctions of the parents could no longer control the vicious tendencies of the children. Out of this condition grew increasingly that social state called "pauperism." The unstable family, according to Le Play, was a major if not a chief cause of much real poverty and other social ills.

We have sketched these two family types briefly in order that we might have before us Le Play's analysis of the family system. His writings describe these families, their characteristics and shortcomings in great detail.

The *famille-souche* or stem-family, as the institution is designated, has been found in all societies which, having developed a settled life, foresaw the possible emergencies and planned to defend their family organization against "the domination of legislators," the invasion of bureaucrats, and the social exaggerations which appear in urban and pure *laissez faire* régimes.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STEM-FAMILY

Le Play gives credit for earlier thought about this type of family chiefly to A. E. Schaeffle, a professor at the University of Tübingen, who designated a similar form by the term

*Stammfamilie.*⁴ The concept had wide usage in Germany, prior to its borrowing by Le Play. He indicates also that the equivalent of the word *famille-souche* can be found in the dialects of the various provinces where the stem-families which he described are located. These families exist in many sections of Europe today and many migrants to the New World introduced the form in the Americas. In the peasant farming districts of Cuba and among the cattle ranches and coffee plantations of that country both the patriarchal and stem-families still exist. We describe them later in the study of the Ozark Highlanders.

The stem-family, of which Le Play speaks, unites one married child to the paternal household, and supplies all the other offspring in a "state of independence [with a dowry] which the patriarchal family does not give them." The stem-family develops strong habits of work and encourages the maintenance of the useful traditions of the family ancestors. The stem-family forms a stable, permanent organization similar in some respects to the patriarchal type, but it cannot be developed to its most effective form without "the beneficent influence of individual property." Here Le Play adds the element of "individual" property to his concept of family organization. Le Play finds in this stem-family an organization which contains all the elements necessary to maintain a prosperous society and to satisfy the urge for individualism as well. It provides even for those who wish "to climb the social ladder by adventurous enterprise." He finds in the stem-family freedom as well as peace. These general characteristics of the stem-family are described and analyzed in Le Play's characteristic method. He tells how it grows, how it is maintained, and how it contributes to the development of the individual and to the strength of the nation.

One expects to find considerable objection to emigration and colonization in Le Play. Quite the opposite is true in his consideration of these stem-families. He finds, as the family grows and as new and uncultivated lands are developed, that the young men wish to leave the paternal household and establish new

⁴ *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, p. 303, 21st year.

homesteads. He draws attention to the effective colonization of the United States by this method, and concludes that there is no danger in the process if properly controlled. He is very careful to point out that the proximity of vast areas of land for colonization is by no means a guarantee in itself that the new families who settle upon them will develop the necessary intellectual and moral qualities to establish strong stem-families. He also gives a sharp warning that some programs of colonization may easily produce a very unstable family life. Thus, the first colonists or exploiters have to be replaced by a second growth.

Le Play expresses his disapproval of the idea that "the increase of population, one of the symptoms of the prosperity of a nation, should be counteracted by a systematic sterility in marriage." He further observes that "among the most prosperous peoples—fecundity is still necessary in order to perfect and to establish a powerful civilization. Further, it will always remain, in the best social organization, an essential law of the family." Thus Le Play argues that one of the essential elements of a stable society, and of an effective stem-family, is a reasonably high birth rate. He considers emigration necessary, but believes that the state most often needs to regulate rather than to stimulate it.

The next essential element of the effective stem-family is the home. It is built by the founder of the stem-family and is maintained by the heir with the help of the children who also have been effectively trained in the traditions and customs of the family. This home-centered family becomes the conserver of the community.

One of the fundamental concepts of the stem-family is the guarantee of a continuous head to the family. In case of the "premature death of the heir or the associate-heir, each offspring gives up without hesitation all brilliant prospects that he may have and makes it a point of honor to return to fill the position as family head which has been opened." Thus the family is assured of a leader and of a tradition which will supply such a leader, should the active head be cut off by accident or death.

A fourth element of importance, which Le Play suggests

rather than develops, is the fact that these stem-families are spontaneous and free groups, which when left to develop properly find their way to full-growth and effective family organizations.

An examination of a successful stem-family studied by Le Play reveals some interesting facts about the composition of the "successful family organization for a strong society." The total number of persons was numerous. It included the head and his wife, the parental father and the parental mother, grandparents, collateral adults (unmarried brothers or sisters of the heir), and the children of the head. There were always infants in the family. Servants were often included as a psychological part of it. The mothers of these families gave birth to numerous children. Emigration, death, and a change in the number of members of the household, brought about an equilibrium which kept the number of individuals in proportion to the capacity of the house. The children, not to be established as the associate heir in the stem-family, found their way into occupations in the army, navy, industry, clergy, business and public service. But always some members of the stem-family tended to found new households of the same kind in the colonies or in other native areas. The daughters who leave the home are encouraged to perpetuate the family-stem by bearing children of their own.

In the following passage Le Play puts, in concrete and expressive language, what he believes to be the essence and function of the stem-family. "It makes proper use of both tradition and novelty, of liberty and restraint, and of ease of association, as well as of the emotions of individualism. Moreover the stem-family assures to individuals what political parties and contemporary reformers seldom seek, happiness in private life. Each member of the community enjoys, in the midst of family affection, the well-being acquired by the work of the ancestors."

The stem-family, unlike the unstable families, causes the state little worry about poor relief. Rather it furnishes the public and private enterprises with an increasing number of other stem-families. It supplies individuals who find security in the home and do not need to rely upon the state.

Le Play considers home ownership very essential to the development of a strong family. The home, essential to the well-being of the society, is difficult of development under conditions of tenancy and apartment-house dwelling. A true home must be founded on ownership of the homestead, establishment of habits of work, regard for the traditional mores, and the development of strong family units by means of a high birth rate. In this matter, Le Play was thinking of security of tenure. He would recognize "holding" status or customary possession as having virtually the same advantages as home ownership.

According to Le Play's observations people become more prosperous and free as they move from the patriarchal family to the well developed stem type. The patriarchal organization is too much given to the worship of tradition. The traditions lead to the dwarfing of the individual, sap the spirit of youth, and make for static institutions. The stem-family which is firmly attached to religion, to traditional beliefs, and to private property, develops a strong, virile, social organization, capable of satisfying the needs of both the individual and the society.

CONCLUSIONS

Whether the total family system which Le Play has described as the stem-family is a system of family-living necessary to social order and to the prevention of instability in an industrial society may be a debatable question. It is clear that the family system, so well described by Le Play, best able to survive in a society such as ours is not the one idealized by the majority of contemporary social scientists.

We shall not consider the European situation, which presents simultaneously such remarkable contrasts as socialist and fascist ideologies about the family.

Disregarding the fundamental assumptions about progress and social change (linear as opposed to cyclical), it should be pointed out that the Le Playist idea disagrees considerably with the present popular conception, held by many authors, of the place and function of the family in the present social order. One

problem is whether the social scientist who observes conditions and understands historical processes can recommend such a complete dismissal of the experience of the race in the decay of our former strong family organizations. Another is the question whether a society, if it is to perpetuate itself depends upon the development of a strong family system such as proposed and described by Le Play. Is there a comparable system of living which has been able to give psychological peace, stability, and prosperity to as great an extent and for as long periods of time, as have the efficient familistic societies? Should we or should we not view with alarm, first the changes in the present family —its trend toward urbanization, already accomplished or in the process—and second, serious attempts to tamper with or modify the essential nature of the family? Do or do not the social scientists and the intellectual leaders of our political and religious organizations understand the nature of the fundamental social forces? Should there be a conscious effort to reinstate the traditional family patterns? Was a social control, stability, and psychological peace in the past due to strong family groups? Is it necessary to re-emphasize family life as an emergency to save our society from complete moral and social destruction? What is the course of the future as regards the family? These questions occur when we read Le Play in the perspective of the one hundred years in Europe since he began to study.

Le Play thought he saw, as no other social scientist of his day, the trends which spelled disaster for his country and his social order. He gave his energy and his talent in order that those in positions of authority might know the facts and act accordingly. The symptoms which he observed as characteristic of his generation in Europe, are also largely characteristic of our present generation in America. Le Play found in the stem-family an organization which he thought would carry the society through the crisis it faced.

Each must interpret the times according to his lights. It is not our purpose to settle this dilemma. We bring out this anti-thesis between Le Playism and much of current thought in order

to set forth the problem clearly. All that one can hope is that those vitally interested in sociology will observe the basic social institutions in the light of the Le Play methodology and try to explain the situation for themselves. The *famille-souche* hypothesis offers an interesting and valuable suggestion.

At the same time it should be pointed out that some modern movements emphasize the Le Playist solution. The Fascist population idea,⁵ the German *Erbhofgesetz*,⁶ and the part-time subsistence farming movements⁷ are attempts which try, directly or indirectly, to achieve some of the things advocated by Le Play. These represent a compromise between the cultural lag optimists on the one hand and the prophets of dissolution on the other. Possibly not all truth is on either side. Hence, a renewal of interest in Le Play's ideas is timely as an offset to some of our present wide and non-critical acceptance of anti-family doctrines by the optimists on the one hand, and the *laissez faire* attitude of the Spenglerian pessimists on the other.

The remainder of the chapter interprets and summarizes the passages of Le Play which set forth his ideas on the family most clearly.

TYPES OF FAMILIES⁸

The family presents three principal types, which correspond to three distinct organizations of society.

Familism is necessary in all complete social organization to a degree even more imperative than the need for property. Many of the very persons who refuse to consider the family a direct creation of God see in it at least a necessary consequence of natural law.

There are regions, such as the steppes of the Orient, where

⁵ See *Population* (Lectures on the Harris Foundation 1929), by Corrado Gini and others, Chicago, 1930.

⁶ *Journal of Farm Economics* 16(1) : 149-151; 16(2) : 326-329.

⁷ *Journal of Farm Economics* 16(1) : 73-84, "The Place of Subsistence Homesteads in our National Economy," by M. L. Wilson; and *Journal of Farm Economics* 16(1) : 84-87, a discussion by Carle C. Zimmerman.

⁸ The remainder of the chapter is adapted from *La Réforme sociale*, Tours, 1887, 7th ed., Vol. I, section on the family, pp. 380-519.

an individual could not live if he were isolated. There are others where the law forbids individuals to separate themselves from the family. This was the condition among the Russian peasants up to the last reforms. The settled people of the West have pulled down these prohibitions by degrees and one of the characteristics of their society is the passing of legislation to meet the demands of the individual rather than the requirements of the family.

The advantages which certain people derive from the unlimited extension of individual desires appear greater than they are in reality. Where individualism becomes dominant in social relations men rapidly move toward barbarism. On the contrary, in model societies, individuals desire to stay under the authority of the parents. Some leading European nations grant leeway to the exceptional desires of a few individuals for non-family life. But, at the same time, they continue to hold jurisdiction over the permanent needs of the masses by keeping most of them grouped in strong families.

The principles concerning possession and transference of property show that the best way of protecting the family is to bestow extensive powers upon the family head. Primogeniture seems to give complete satisfaction to the individualist, but in fact it seeks rather to insure the well-being of each of the members of the family.

Some societies have formed more extensive social groups to which the ordinary functions of the family have been partly delegated. A notable example is the subjecting of the Russian peasant families to the community and to the chief land owner of the area. Modern societies encourage large associations of individuals. It is evident that legislators have never lost sight of the benefits of non-family groups which have proved advantageous to the individual and to the family.

The family, in its accepted form is like religion and property, an imperishable institution; but its type undergoes considerable modification. Together with religion and property the family gives each social organization its essential character. One can

distinguish two extreme types, i.e. the patriarchal and the unstable families. There is also an intermediary type—the stem-family.

The patriarchal form is common among the pastoral people of the Orient, among the Russian peasants and the Slavonic peasants of central Europe. The father keeps near him all his married sons and exercises over them, as well as over their children, a very extensive authority. Except for certain pieces of furniture the property remains undivided. The father directs the work and accumulates as savings the products not required for daily needs. Among nomadic tribes this family type exists during the lifetime of the father. Among settled agriculturists the family is divided when the paternal home is no longer able to house its members. Emigration from the home is also connected with the fertility of the soil. The emigrants may establish themselves nearby or migrate to another country.

It is then that the father, from the common savings, contributes to the creation of a new establishment. It is also the father who designates the member of the family who is to exercise the new patriarchal authority. The tendency that leads young couples to desire independence is neutralized among nomadic people by the struggle for survival. The necessities of life are not utilized so as to permit individuals or small groups to subsist in isolation. This individualist tendency is counteracted among settled agriculturists by the feudal organization of their society, and in both pastoral and agricultural families by the moral traditions.

Family beliefs are in part strongly religious or magical in origin. Religion maintains the respect for established order more than it develops the spirit of initiative. In this religious state of material as well as moral restraint, the community regulates the degree of social eminence that individuals can attain in an independent situation. It also enables the individuals who are less moral, less clever, and less willing to work to participate in the common well-being.

The unstable family prevails now among the working populations who live under the factory system of the West. It is multiplying among the wealthy classes of France under a group

of influences, the most important of which is forced division of inheritance. The family increases at first, but decreases later as the children, freed from all obligations toward their parents and relatives, establish themselves outside the family. It dissolves finally at the death of the parents and the dispersal of the children. Each child disposes freely of his dowry and enjoys exclusively the fruits of his labor. Under this régime the individual, single or married, finding it no longer necessary to provide for the needs of his relatives, rapidly attains a high position, if he is capable. On the contrary, if he is incapable or unfortunate he is not able to call upon any family help in case of need. Thus, he falls more quickly into a miserable condition. Unhappily this depraved condition tends to perpetuate itself because parents can no longer contribute further to the establishment of their children or because the children are not under parental guidance. Thus is formed that peculiar social state which history has not often disclosed before —pauperism.

The stem-family develops among all people who combine the benefits of agriculture, industry, and settled life with the common-sense idea of defending their private life from the domination of legislators, from the invasion of bureaucrats, and the exaggerations of the manufacturing régime. This family organization joins one married child to the ancestral household and establishes all others independently with dowries. The patriarchal family does not give the others this freedom. It perpetuates habits of work, most of the property, and useful traditions at the paternal home. It forms a permanent center of protection to which all the members of the family may resort. Thus, it gives a security to the individuals which they do not find in the unstable family. The stem-family arises partly from traditional influences of patriarchal life but it finally forms itself under the influence of individual property. It satisfies both those who are happy in the situation of their birth and those who wish to advance socially or economically. It harmonizes the authority of the father and the liberty of the children. It is formed wherever the family is free and it maintains itself throughout major disruptions of the

established order. In the event of the premature death of the associate-heir, all the other offspring are willing to give up even brilliant outside prospects to fill the vacancy.

In brief, European people in becoming more free and more prosperous broke up the patriarchal family, which is too much given to the worship of tradition. They also attempted to repulse the unstable family with its desire for novelty. The stem-family satisfies both tendencies and harmonizes two equally imperative needs—the respect for tradition and the yearning for the new.

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF THE DOMICILE UPON THE FAMILY

One of the most precious traditions of the European continent is that which assures in most regions home ownership to each family, rich or poor. Customs and institutions that maintain this wholesome practice contribute more than anything else to the prosperity of the nation. Even in a relatively backward social order, it gives families a dignity and an independence that others in some ways more advanced do not enjoy.

Ownership of the domestic establishment seems to have been one of the general traits of the old Europe. With rare exceptions it still exists among the Russians, among most of the Slavs of central Europe, and among the Hungarians. The sudden invasion of the manufacturing régime has destroyed this tutelary organization in several occidental countries. However, in many rural districts the principle of the possession of the home is still maintained. Every father worthy of the name refuses to marry his daughter to any suitor who does not possess a home in his own name or have good prospects. Those populations still impregnated with an old European spirit have a truer sentiment of dignity than those of our cities who seek instead the conspicuous consumption and the material enjoyments of the leisurely class. Marked social disorders have been the characteristic of this urban non-home owning system in the Occident since the middle of the 18th century.

In England many eminent persons have already reacted against this tendency, and have undertaken to help workers obtain the possession of their habitations. Societies which stimulate thrift among the workers and enable them to purchase homes are being formed. On the continent several mining corporations have found that home ownership betters the intellectual and moral condition of the workers. When a house and garden are put up for sale, another worker is given preference over the capitalists, merchants, and political leaders of the locality. The buyer is able to borrow, if necessary, the total purchase price from the mining administration under a property mortgage. A portion of his salary is retained for interest and amortization. Even if he never succeeds in discharging the mortgage, the Hartz miner finds the means of rising to a better condition. It gives him dignity and he accepts habits of work and temperance more willingly. In France possession of the dwelling is one of the striking features of rural life, while renting has been introduced into the cities and the industrial centers as in England. The same remedies are being tried. Societies of Patronage, such as that of Mulhouse, stimulate home ownership among workers.

The natural instinct of possession has created a strong sentiment toward saving. The worker who has become a proprietor understands the dangers of political agitation. He dreams only of rising in the social ladder by thrift. Unhappily, our inheritance laws of forced division of property disorganize the small property owner. Many houses, upon the death of the owners, have been sold as a result of our inheritance laws. The capitalists now own them and the residents are tenants.

The sovereign who could by peaceful means direct the workers toward home ownership would found a stronger dynasty than did the well-intentioned king who three centuries ago wanted to put a "chicken in every family pot."

In England the rent régime imposed upon the middle and lower classes seems to be maintained by the system of emphyteusis. Persons who wished to build a dwelling for themselves ordinarily obtain use of the ground by stipulating that the entire building

will return to the heirs of the present holder after a period of 99 years. Rented dwellings possessed by the large land owners have thus a tendency to multiply. But this dependence upon a numerous class of owners is lightened in practice by excellent traditions.

Many owners consider it a crime to modify the leases. Moreover, they do not feel that it is right to subject their tenants to the competition of new landlords. It not infrequently happens that generations of owners have been operating without written leases.

These traditions favorable to social harmony had also developed under the old French régime. Vestiges of them are found here and there in the provinces. In Paris these ideas are found only among the aged. Here, few owners of houses believe that rentals should not be at market rates. The new landlords change tenants very frequently. The rigorous application of the economic principle of temporary rentals, of supply and demand prices, disorganizes social relations with reference to renting and to salaries.

The complete isolation of the dwelling occupied by each family is one of the fundamental conveniences of every civilization. Model rural populations enjoy this convenience and satisfy the needs of the most efficient type of agriculture by placing the dwelling in the center of the domain. This condition of isolation is even met with in many European towns where the high cost of land bordering upon public highways requires that the houses be contiguous. The English particularly respect this principle. In London where soil is the considerable value, the smaller "bourgeois" and often the common workers each occupy separate houses. Under this régime a city dwelling is of the type still met with in the St. Marcian quarter of Paris. Small domiciles are subdivided into stories, the outlet for each of which is a small staircase. Each story has ordinarily three rooms with a toilet.

Wherever fecundity and other essentials to the family are being maintained the most modest dwellings consist of at least four rooms. These rooms generally are used as follows; the first room by the head of the family and his wife; the second by the

associate-heir, his wife and child; the other two by the children of the head of the family and the heir, by the "single" children and by the servants, separated according to sex. The hearth where the food is prepared, near which the meals are taken, and where meetings or evening gatherings are held is nearly always situated in the room of the head of the family.

Even in certain cities where space is scantiest, this minimum of rooms is always amplified by a few store rooms used for household provisions, laundry, and other domestic necessities. In the bread-eating region of Europe, there is generally a little workshop for grinding, sifting, and baking. However, in the West most of these milling and baking functions are performed outside the home. The use of coal for baking has set up an opposite tendency in recent Belgium and England.

In the country and in the outskirts of cities, dwellings have vegetable and fruit gardens as natural appurtenances, as well as a few outbuildings for the use of domestic animals. These animals, in order of frequency, are chickens, pigs, goats, milk cows, asses, and horses. When the household crafts require it the home is completed by a work-shop. This organization of the home establishment is maintained among many rural craftsmen as well as among certain urban workers.

These uses of the home, once popular in all major parts of Europe and still important in the eastern region, are often discontinued in manufacturing regions. In certain cities of England and France the home is often reduced to a single room in a damp and dark cellar. These conditions are miserable. Such societies often give evidence of forms of suffering unknown among primitive peoples living in rigorous climates.

Increased wealth, when it goes with an understanding of social laws, raises the home above the level just described. The number of rooms is increased. Special rooms are used for the preparation of food, for meals, and for customary meetings.

The families of the upper classes set aside special places for domestic religion, for intellectual pursuits, and for traditional objects of their ancestors and their family. In all cases the number

of rooms were proportional to the size of the principal dwelling. Near these various establishments is kept the family tomb, a pious custom maintained in all table societies who are preoccupied with the future life or the memory of the ancestors. This custom has not been completely destroyed in France. Many Protestant communities of the region of Paitou have no inter-family cemeteries. Thus at St. Sauvant (Vienne) there is no cemetery for a town of 1500 Protestants. All the dead are buried in the ground reserved for this purpose on the family domains. These customs are becoming, however, more and more exceptional.

Among people with strong social constitutions each citizen finds satisfaction in living under the roof of his ancestors. In the system of unstable families the opposite state of things exists. It would be easy to demonstrate that this situation is very unwholesome for private life. The furniture, the utensils, and linen of the household are characteristic elements of the household. These are suited to the habits of the family and minister to its needs. They acquire great value among families desiring refined luxury. They amount to nothing among pauperized western families. This total absence of furniture is usually the most manifest sign of poverty in the urban family.

Among the traditional people there exists a minimum of comfort and well-being, below which families do not consent to go. Young girls refuse to marry until, with the help of their future husbands and of their parents, they have succeeded in securing a normal amount of furniture, without which the new family could not aspire to public consideration.⁹ Public opinion is very exacting. The youth feel inspired to work and save in order to marry. Possibly severe conditions imposed by the mores concerning marriage are the surest way to make all western workers desire to escape from the effects of pauperism, and, in general, to raise the living conditions of all classes of society.

The most commendable traits pertaining to the organization of the French home were met both in the cities and in the Provinces

⁹ The monographs published in *Les ouvriers européens* and in the volumes of *Les ouvriers des deux mondes* present detailed inventories of the furniture and the clothing as well as brief descriptions of the family dwellings.

under the old social régime. Even the most modest families lived alone in their own houses. Unfortunately, since the end of the 17th century, the relaxing of the mores and, since 1793, the new inheritance code have altered this tradition profoundly. Today, as in every other period, the man who has desires to rise in the social scale tends to build a dwelling proportionate to his fortune. But his children do not wish to live with their father and are still less capable of living in the home after his death. They are not financially able to live there alone. The usual solution is to sell the paternal home. Thus, many families are tenants in dwellings built by their ancestors. These old homes have fallen into the hands by the newly rich.

Further, coparceny has a tendency to lower the level of private living. The children when adult leave the paternal home. The non-traditional couples give birth to fewer children. The room required by these sterile families is more and more limited. Owners of old houses are interested in subdividing them in order to rent more rooms. This creates collective dwellings. It is understood that the general cost of this type of enterprise would be reduced by increasing the number of the tenants in each establishment. But these immense apartment houses violate all housing conditions from the familialistic point of view.

A modern apartment house in Paris intended for a family of modest means is usually built with the luxury that was once used only for palaces. It is composed of floors, several stories high. Splendid staircases lead to an interior yard, to the rooms, and to the streets. Each story has several apartments lighted from the yard or the street. The families lose their privacy, not only by their proximity to one another and by the common use of the stairs, but by the dividing of each floor into two or three apartments. Often part of the service is located on the ground floor. In many cases the servants, and sometimes the young boys of the family, occupy rooms spread out here and there through the house and on the top floor.

The owner rarely lives in his apartment. He delegates his authority to a special agent called a "janitor," whose function is

nearly unknown in the rest of the world. The janitors inconvenience the family by adding to the bothersome habits of the keeper and by promoting the sneaking ways of the dissatisfied servant.

This sort of promiscuity tends to influence the morals of the family and weaken the authority of its head. The servants corrupt one another. With the help of the janitor they often form a sort of clan which foments the spirit of insubordination. These feelings are bred in the children, who come in contact with the servants. Thus, the family tends to be weakened.

People of tradition are inspired by sentiment in the establishment of their dwellings. They do not give way to the spirit of speculation, to the fancies of fashion, and to the vagaries of architecture.

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE STEM-FAMILY

Let us see how stem-families are founded, maintained, and how they contribute to the power of the state and to the expansion of the society. When young men see uncultivated and unoccupied territories close to the place of their birth, they wish to found new homes. They leave the paternal home as soon as they are able and with the help of the parents and the associate heir establish themselves anew. The clearing of the soil always offers work and generally some income from the sale of the timber. Under these conditions the United States has been developing rapidly for the past two centuries. Many writers have been led to see in the proximity of uncultivated territory the principal incentive of the expansion of a nation. This view is based upon a superficial appreciation of the causes of social development.¹⁰

The prosperity of 17th century New England was assured by those who, because of their religious beliefs, their understanding and their virtues, really formed the élite of Europe. In the conquest of civilization the predominance of moral over material force is once again seen here. The presence of timber or vacant

¹⁰ Manchuria and the Japanese, for instance. (Editors.)

land does not guarantee a strong society. If the proximity of vast uncleared territories does not bring about the development of the moral and intellectual qualities of the family, the society never becomes great. But among the people that abandon themselves to the exaggerations of the democratic régime, this circumstance is a powerful factor in promoting stability and public order. Those who cannot get along with their neighbors simply leave for the frontier.

Upon land completely cleared local agriculture offers fewer resources for the separate establishment of young couples, but one cannot conclude, as do some economists, that the increase of population, one of the symptoms of prosperity of a nation, should be counteracted by systematic sterility in marriage. Observation of the most prosperous people shows, on the contrary, that fecundity is not less necessary in order to perfect powerful civilizations. Fecundity always remains an essential law of the family in the best social organizations.

Each year these people improve their agriculture and develop their industries. The remainder of the population is employed in the army and in the various occupations which deal with the intellectual and moral amelioration of the group. Some go to the colonies. This regulation emigration should not be considered a hardship or as a painful necessity imposed upon the population.

This belief in the bad influences of emigration or the objections which people raise against it, like many other false beliefs, prevail only among the French of this period. Everywhere else and especially in the countries where the old European fecundity has endured, families appreciate the benefits of emigration. They are eager to emigrate. Government must in general moderate rather than stimulate this propensity. There are no longer, moreover, any material obstacles against colonization; navigation establishes rapid and economic communication between the principal centers of civilization and territories that formerly remained subject to abandonment and barbarism. There are, so to speak, no more inaccessible areas on our globe, and already settlers from England go to Australia as easily as Russian settlers go to Siberia and

American settlers to the western prairies and the California forests.

These influences appear at their height in the stem-family; they endow the members with a nobility which also distinguishes their offspring. Stem-families of central Europe are generally fecund and stable. They appear happy in their lot. They successfully keep at home in a state of celibacy young men who have little aptitude for marriage and the new generation is thus obtained from a smaller number of better chosen procreators. When one compares the agglomerated populations of the West with the sparse populations of the steppes of the Far-East, one sees a contrast in Europe. The stem-families of the Scandinavian states, of the northeast and the south of Germany, of the Alps, of the Apennines, of the Pyrenees, and of central France often have ten to twelve children per couple. It is rare to meet with more than four among patriarchal families in Russia, and in the countries of Oemburg and Siberia, where the custom of precocious marriages prevails. In these countries of the north and of the west the new families have the most praiseworthy organization. These families of the stem type, once formed, resist the influences which tend to destroy them or to disperse their members.

The essential customs among successive generations of the stem-families of Europe are as follows: the stem unit dwells in the home built by the founder; the stem-family is preserved as a tangible continuous unit; and finally, the direct heirs tend to practice the same profession as their fathers.

The family increases with births. Within a period of 25 years, ten new children are often acquired. But death, emigration, and changes in the number of domestic apprentices, re-establish the equilibrium and thus keep the number of the members in proportion to the capacity of the house and the work. Some replace the vacancies left by death; and others seek positions in the army, the navy, industry, commerce, the clergy, and public administration. Among the best organized families at least one of the younger children goes to found a new home near the city or in the colonies.

If the heir dies prematurely, the widow keeps his place in the home. If the widow has no children, one of the youngest brothers, instead of emigrating, marries immediately in order to perpetuate the family. The home possesses a reserve in its emigrant members that easily fills the shortage produced by prolonged wars, epidemics, and other public calamities. This régime thus assures a head and support for the family in nearly all cases.

Thinkers who seek some new social combinations outside the family look afar for a happiness which humanity organized on the stem-family system has always had. The stem-family, indeed, answered all the legitimate instincts of humanity. This is the reason why public order prevails everywhere it exists in strength. Custom has founded it and, where the corruption of the governing body and the law have not destroyed it, it satisfies various social aspirations. It provides a rightful place for tradition and for novelty, for liberty and for restraint, for association as well as for individualism. But the stem-family assures individuals what political parties and contemporary reformers hardly understand, namely happiness in private life. Each member of the community enjoys in the midst of the tenderest affections, the well-being acquired by the work of his ancestors. Those that are not satisfied by this certain but limited economic perspective, can have their liberty; they even find help in seeking positions more in harmony with their taste and talents.

Unstable families are disorganized when the father dies leaving the children in infancy or when none of the adult children continues the paternal tradition. Stem-families, on the contrary, persist through these trials. For instance, the father who cannot at the approach of death be sure of an heir worthy of his ancestors, bequeaths the direction of the home to one of his single adult relatives.

The régime guarantees public interest as well as individual happiness; it relieves the state and community of all charges for assistance and assures help for unfortunates if there is any need. In a population organized upon the above bases, the families,

after having chosen the members that are necessary to them, furnish the state their excess of young persons of both sexes, after the voluntary elimination of the feeble-minded and physically weak. These young people gifted with physical energy, moral aptitudes, professional education and even with necessary capital, are a real foundation for the enterprises of a great nation.

The régime of the stem-family developed in the Middle Ages in western Europe had not received in all our provinces the complete organization that these figures imply. Moreover, toward the end of the 18th century, it was profoundly stirred by skepticism and bad morals in the superior classes. Stem-families remained, nevertheless, in all parts of the territory. These keep the old tradition faithfully and offer the country nearly all the elements of social regeneration.

A good organization of the home not only satisfies the first needs of the individual and the sentiments of parenthood; it also establishes an excellent régime of work; and it gives birth to the richest associations in private relations and the best local form of government.

Stem-families are the basis of the northern populations. Here and there they are mingled with those that poverty has rendered unstable and very rarely with a few patriarchal families. The patriarchal types dominate only in the most northerly regions of the peninsula where the Laps wander with their reindeer herds.

Typologically, the stem-families of the north offer three principal traits. The father chooses as an heir one of his children judged the best fitted; he bequeaths the home and the work-shop by testament to the heir; and he imposes upon the heir the obligation to practice all the duties of the house father. Most families maintain fecundity so that the constant thought of the father and of the heir is how to keep up a steady flow of emigration.

The stem-families of the agriculturists are less well able to keep the social traditions pure than is the patriarchal family of the pastorals. Among the agriculturists, clergymen and public officials intervene in family action; but ordinarily this intervention is not excessive. The influence of the priest on the young is

variable; it is nil during the years of infancy when moral habits are first established.

The parents repulse all persistent inclinations toward evil in their children. They take the initiative by remebering the example of the paternal home. The mother especially fights against the vicious propensities of the newly-born child. The parents then have recourse to the increasing use of reason, as the intelligence of the child develops. They take up force again when he resists. Finally, they complete the education of the adult by procuring for him, inasmuch as he depends on them, a situation fitted to his virtues and his talents. Among prosperous peoples government officials do not intervene in the family except by indirect means and by good example. The responsibility for behavior rests principally with the families. In the north family functions are the chief forms of social activity.

The stem-family type of England now shows slight symptoms of weakening. The change weighs especially heavily upon the working populations, but it tends to destroy one of the best customs of the stem-family among the wealthy classes. The fathers of families on the Continent associate during their lifetime with their heirs and thus train them by example in the practice of the best traditions of the family. In England the heir of a rich family leaves the paternal home by or before the time of his marriage and except for temporary visits re-enters it only after the death of the father and the departure of the widow. The custom of cohabitation of the father and of the heir was no longer practiced in England at the end of the 18th century.

The first three fundamental customs of the stem-family have maintained themselves for at least 14 centuries on the continental shores of the North Sea. They are altered somewhat in Norway and in Denmark, but they are maintained in their purity in Sweden and in Saxony. The large proprietors, the peasants, and the "bordiers" keep these stem-family customs in all their purity. The classes remain united by the bonds of an intimate solidarity. The city and manufacturing classes that are recruited in the

country are inspired also by the feelings which come from family customs.

The Catalonian family presents all the general characteristics of the European stem-family. Here, as in other places, it wisely maintains itself *ab intestate*. A description of it will help to explain stem-family principles.

The father, conscious of his duties, directs the little society and develops its sentiments with his eyes on the future. If he has inherited nothing but the love of work, he tries with serene perseverance to acquire a patrimony. If, on the contrary, he has received possessions from his parents he feels obliged to keep and to better them. The one who neglects or loses the means of family subsistence is looked upon with disfavor and even with disdain.

Good example is the best teacher. The good conduct of the father of the family influences the work and position of the mother. The Catalonian woman, far from showing the indolence too common in other countries, is active, diligent, and thrifty. She reveals these qualities as soon as she marries and she is rewarded by the one who is her companion and husband.

In Catalonia marriage is not considered a commercial association, in which the death of one of the parties of the contract brings on a liquidation of the property. Neither of the survivors considers himself an ex-associate who asks for his due and the division of possessions acquired in common. These ideas are abhorred by the venerable traditions of the family. Sufficient evidence as to the truth of this is found in the classes of marriage contracts and those testaments given in the *Manual of the Notary*. Here we discover the terms under which a husband bequeaths an inheritance to his wife.

"As a reward for the good services that I have received each day from my wife, I institute her major woman, mistress and heir of all my succession and of all my possessions during her natural life, upon the condition that she will live chaste without taking another husband, remaining in the habits of widowship and keeping her name; without taking her dowry from my succession nor from my possessions.

For this reason I do not wish that my said wife should be obliged to furnish any surety as to the manner in which she will use said inheritance as a good proprietor should, nor any other which she should be called upon to furnish. As her right, she will not be obliged to prove any sort of employment, nor to give any account of the inheritance. I forbid my heir to ask her for any accounting or any pledge. Nevertheless, I wish that my said very dear wife be obliged to keep the sons and daughters which we have had in common and to pay the debts of my succession."

Besides these recommendations, the husband imposes upon his wife duties that belong only to the realm of her conscience and others that pertain to the children. He recommends especially that she close her ears to the words of corruption and obliges her, as head of the family, to give the best physical and moral education to the children.

In Catalonia the institution of an heir is in reality linked to the idea of work which must not cease. The heir is an authority who must be maintained at all cost, an auxiliary who permits the father to rest, an honored person who promises to accomplish his duties, and a depositary of venerable tradition without which there is no solid society. Finally, he is a guardian of the domestic home and a refuge for future generations.

The heir is the arm which assists the father during mature age and the stick which supports him during old age. He learns under the paternal direction, to govern the family in whatever condition it may be. He never questions who will profit from the sweat of his brow and uses his own capital and the dowry of his wife for the dignity and prosperity of all.

Once the father is dead, there exists in the family two powers: the heir proprietor and the mother, the property heir. But these two powers, equally strong know how to live together and function in harmony. The mother directs and the son must limit himself to executing her orders. If she wishes to rest and to keep only a nominal direction, she delegates all her powers to the heir.

Families formed on such strong bases can meet any event,

and each one according to its rank fulfills its purpose. Under the direction of the father, of the mother beneficiary, or of the heir, the other sons and daughters gradually find positions; the former by taking up a profession, the latter by contacting, thanks to the patronage of the family, advantageous marriages. It is impossible to imagine more profitable customs for the future generations. For equality of sharing, even though it might offer a few advantages to the first generations, would bring about the indefinite breaking up of the inheritance and the dispersion of the family.

The father may choose one of his children who by his intelligence and conduct shows himself to be the most worthy. If he does not designate an heir, the eldest (son or daughter) who knows the century old custom¹¹ devotes himself to the home and treats his younger brothers as his own children.

The brothers and sisters of the heir do not always marry. Those who remain single live and grow old in the paternal house which they consider as theirs. In case of the premature death of the first heir or of his children they naturally find themselves called upon to protect and direct the family. The younger single members live at first with the father and after his death they keep the same relationship with the heir and his children; the goal of all being to increase the patrimony created by the ancestors. The heir always looks with pleasure upon a brother or an uncle living in the house; he becomes attached to the old bachelor through the family spirit, which fosters a feeling of gratitude for the care that he received from the family in his childhood. The bachelors find their happiness in the paternal house and are accustomed to bequeath to the heir the personal possessions they have acquired.

Catalonian legislators have shown a profound knowledge of

¹¹ This custom was formulated into a law *ab intestate* dating from the year 1307. Catalonian law invites the testator to institute an heir having for his mission continuing the work of the family. This heir may be a stranger to the family. A legitimate part, forming one-fourth of all possessions must be equally divided among all the children not provided for. This law, respected by all Catalonians, points out the institution of an heir as the testament head and foundation.

the influence of the guidance of the father. The law *ab intestate*, allows the father testamentary liberty. They knew well that in his hands this liberty would not be a dangerous weapon. They thought that they should give it to him in order that he might fulfill his important duties in a better way. There are skeletons in family closets that the fathers alone know about.

Catalonia is the province of Spain which has maintained the stem-family in all its purity. It is this which unites in the highest degree the two conditions of a strong nation: the ancient devotion to the community, the province, and the country, with an energetic development of the best processes of agriculture, manufacturing industry, and commerce.

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PART III



American Studies



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CHAPTER VIII

Family Reconstruction in America

Now let us demonstrate the value of these hypotheses in the problem of reconstruction which faces the United States of America at the present time. Briefly, one major phase of this reconstruction problem is found in the three to four million families and the ten to eighteen million people receiving relief of one form or another each winter at the present time. To give an illustration, in March, 1933, families and persons receiving direct *public* unemployment relief in Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, and all the United States of America were as follows:¹

	Pennsyl-vania	New York	Illinois	Massa-chusetts	Continental U. S. A.
Family Groups ..	318,183	255,364	211,922	71,132	3,012,008
Single Persons...	59,564	55,861	34,968	21,269	615,732
Total Persons Affected	1,528,100	1,151,451	787,460	336,707	13,539,352

The relief problem is chiefly an industrial one in the sense that the majority of the unemployed were in industry or in business, and are therefore concentrated in great numbers in our industrial states, such as Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Massachusetts. For a number of reasons this does not appear evident at first.

The following table shows the significance of the relief problem during 1933.

¹ April Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1934. The families supported by the income of members working on the Civil Works Program were not included unless they were on relief in addition.

PUBLIC UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN CONTINENTAL U. S. IN 1933²

Month	Families Receiving Relief 000 omitted	Per cent of all Families on Relief	Persons Receiving Relief 000 omitted	Expenditures for Relief 000 omitted
January	3,850	13	17,155	60,827
February	4,140	14	18,202	67,375
March	4,560	15	20,000	81,206
April	4,475	15	19,642	73,011
May	4,252	14	18,683	70,806
June	3,789	13	16,692	66,339
July	3,457	12	15,282	60,157
August	3,356	11	15,077	61,348
September	2,998	10	13,338	59,206
October	3,015	10	13,618	64,696
November	3,359	11	15,108	70,348
December	2,626	9	11,632	55,446

In the whole United States in November, 1933, 15,060,000 persons (exclusive of transients), or 12 percent of the total population, received unemployment relief from public funds. For that month the states which were about average were Illinois and Ohio with 12 percent, and Arkansas and New York with 11 per cent of their populations on relief. Massachusetts had only 8 percent and Pennsylvania 14. On the other hand, Kentucky, Arizona, Alabama, South Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Florida, and West Virginia, most of which cannot be classed as urban states, had more than 15 percent on relief, ranging from 16 percent in Kentucky to 29 percent in West Virginia. However, if we take the 140 cities in the United States of any importance, we find that forty million dollars, or 57 percent of the seventy million given for unemployment relief that month was used in these cities alone. Furthermore, if we take the average amount

² See Monthly Report of the F.E.R.A., United States Government Printing Office, Washington, January, 1934. We estimate the total number of persons receiving relief the first six months on the basis of 4.3 persons per family plus 400,000 single persons. The drop during the latter months was due in a large part to the Civil Works Association, a form of work relief which expanded rapidly. During November, 1933, over 1,000,000 families were thus taken from the relief rolls. See December, 1933, Report of the F.E.R.A., page 53. The following numbers of workers (not including family members) were on the Civil Works Projects at the following times; November 30th, 1,448,559; December 14th, 2,666,600; December 28th, 3,503,585; January 25th, 4,062,618; January 22nd, 3,485,108; March 22nd, 2,136,097; April 19th, 72,708. These are in addition to public relief.

received per family in November, 1933, which was \$18.22, we find that the states which paid more than this amount were chiefly in the urban group. Thus, Connecticut paid an average of \$24.77 per family, Delaware \$27.16, Illinois \$23.47, Massachusetts \$32.99, New Jersey \$25.52, New York \$32.77, Pennsylvania \$23.90, and Wisconsin \$24.71. Certain rural states were higher than the national average, but in general the high cost states were the urban groups. The following statement by the F. E. R. A. for May, 1934, also shows that the high cost areas were chiefly urban: "Also, while the average benefit was \$21 per family throughout the continental United States, in the principal city areas of the country it reached \$26.68 as compared with \$16.29 in the other sections of the States. Although this relationship held true for most of the individual States, in eleven States the average benefits were lower in the principal city areas than in the other parts of the States."³

Finally, if we take an index number of factory employment for 1933 and compare it with an index of the families receiving relief, we find that the two are almost opposite. In February, March, and April factory employment was down, and relief families reached an index close to 120, 100 being taken as the average. By August and September factory employment had reached almost 135, and the number of families receiving relief had gone below 80. Thus we see that the relief problem emphasizes conditions in the urban and industrial community.⁴

However, the second and third phases of the reconstruction problem affect agriculture. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration is reconstructing the fourteen or fifteen million people connected with commercial agriculture in the United States, and the resettlement programs apply chiefly to the eighteen millions of people settled in the marginal, the semi-marginal, and the sub-marginal agricultural areas.

For some time since the world war the proportion of the national income going to farmers has been drastically reduced

³ Monthly Report of the F.E.R.A., May 1 through May 31, 1934, page 5.

⁴ See the December, 1933, report of the F.E.R.A.

while the proportion of the population engaged in farming has remained more or less constant. Economists estimate that in 1919 the national income was about sixty-six billion dollars, only 18 percent of which went to the farmer even though he comprised more than 25 percent of the total population. For a number of reasons peculiar to agriculture, the farmer is held not to have shared in the good times of the 1920's. Even in 1919 his 18 percent of the national income was held to be unusually high as compared with his proportion of the national income in the years immediately preceding. By 1921 it is estimated that the national income had dropped to sixty-three billion dollars, but of this lesser amount the farmer got only 11 percent. During the next seven years America's income rose to eighty-eight billion dollars, but the farmer's share dropped to 9.3 percent.

By 1932, the national income was cut almost in two; the farmer's share of that reduced amount fell to about 7 percent. The purchasing power of a given quantity of farm commodities, expressed in terms of goods farmers buy, fell to about half what it had been before the war. No corresponding reduction took place in the farmer's fixed charges, debts, taxes, and so forth. Since he had to meet these charges as well as his living expenses if he were not to lose his farm, his actual purchasing power for goods and services fell to much less than half.⁵

For this reason and others, agricultural surpluses piled up in the United States, and farm mortgages became frozen assets because the agriculturists could not pay interest and taxes. The total value of farm real estate fell from sixty-six billion in 1920 to thirty billion in 1933. Foreclosures became common and a number of state legislatures halted them in the name of the general welfare. Many a farmer who had borrowed money when the index of prices for his goods was 110, with respect to the 1910-1914 level, was trying to repay the money from the returns of goods which were selling at an index of 42. In 1931 and 1932, 2834 banks failed in towns of less than five thousand population, and most of the 4000 odd banks which were too weak to reopen

⁵ See publication G-20, U.S.D.A., August, 1934, p. 2.

after the moratorium of March, 1933, were in similar country communities.

During this period agricultural surpluses accumulated in the United States. Between 1928 and 1934, cattle in the United States increased from 57 million head to 67 million. Cotton plantings grew from 32 million acres in 1921 to 47 million in 1929. During the war it was estimated that expansions of planting in the United States accounted for 50 million acres of land, most of which represented surplus production after the war.

By the spring of 1933, there was reported an accumulated American wheat carry-over of more than 360,000,000 bushels. The world carry-over of American cotton totaled 13,000,000 bales, or one year's crop for this country. The number of hogs on farms was nearly as great as in the peak of production in the year of 1919. Dairy production was rising even above its recent record volume. With huge stores on hand, conditions among tobacco farmers were critical. Foreign markets were restricted, and the home-market demand could not absorb the total supply.⁶

Into this situation the American Federal Government came with what is known as the Agricultural Adjustment Act (73rd Congress, HR 3835), intended "to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power" This act declared that the policy of Congress was to raise agricultural prices to a point where agricultural commodities would have a purchasing power comparable to what they had had between 1909 and 1914. The purpose was to bring about this equality of purchasing power gradually so as not to disturb consumption in domestic and in foreign markets. The percentage of the national income spent on agricultural commodities between 1909 and 1914 was set as the limit of this increase.

⁶ See Peek, George N., "Recovery from the Grass Roots, U.S.D.A., A.A.A., G-6, Feb., 1934, p. 5. As authority for the contentions of overproduction or of surplus crops in the United States in the post-war years, see Davis, Chester C., "One Year of the AAA"; The Record Reviewed, U.S.D.A., A.A.A., G-14, June, 1934, "Achieving a Balanced Agriculture," U.S.D.A., A.A.A., August, 1934, G-20. "Preliminary Questions and Answers Covering the Bankhead Act," U.S.D.A., A.A.A., Form No. B. A.-1, May 2, 1934. "Analysis of the Corn-Hog Situation," U.S.D.A., A.A.A., C.H.-7, November, 1933. "The Beef-Cattle Problem," U.S.D.A., A.A.A., Cattle No. 1, April, 1934.

In order to achieve this, certain key products were picked out for adjustment of production. These include cotton, wheat, corn, hogs, rice, tobacco, dairy products, sugar, cattle, peanuts, rye, flax, barley, sorghum, and citrus fruit. The table below shows the prices at which these commodities sold in 1932 and 1933 and the parity prices which the Agricultural Act hopes to re-establish.

REAL AND PARITY PRICES OF TYPICAL PRODUCTS COVERED BY THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT

Product		Prices in 1932	Prices in 1933	Parity Prices ⁷ (1909-1914 average)
Cotton	100 pounds	\$6.50	\$9.60	\$13.50
Wheat	bushel	.37	.73	.96
Corn	bushel	.29	.36	.70
Hogs	100 pounds	3.44	3.49	7.84
Butter fat	100 pounds	17.60	19.10	28.60
Beef cattle	100 pounds	—	3.63	5.68
Citrus fruit	box	—	1.07	1.33

In order to achieve this it is planned to reduce the cotton area from forty to twenty-five million acres in 1934, and from forty to thirty million acres in 1935. The general intention is to reduce the annual production, at least for a while, from around thirteen million bales of about 500 pounds each to about ten million such bales. Wheat acreage is to be reduced to 54 percent of its 1926-1930 acreage. Corn is to be reduced 20-30 percent in 1934, hogs 25 percent, and tobacco 25-50 percent depending upon the grade. The number of cattle in the United States is to be reduced from sixty-seven million in 1933 to about sixty million by the end of 1934. Thus, in general, the intention of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration is to decrease agricultural production so that at least for a year or two it shall be one-fourth to one-fifth smaller than the production of the 1933-1934 period. Such a reduction in output is equivalent to the labor power of three or four millions of the farm population. To put it more exactly, among the 14 or 15 million people in the 3 million families

⁷ Parity prices are adjustable to purchasing power of the farmer's dollar and are not static. These are the prices given in the official bulletins listed in footnote 1.

engaged in commercial agriculture, each worker, if he reduces his other labor proportionately, will work only three-fourths as much time as he did formerly. The commercial farmer will not work as hard or invest as much money in producing a quantity of goods to sell.

On the other hand, the three or more million marginal, sub-marginal, or subsistence farmers in America with their from 15 to 20 million family members have a different place to play in reconstruction. In some cases, these are to be moved in from the places of less fertility, of less economic productivity, and of less social availability to areas where the land is more fertile, where industrial opportunities may be open to them, and where improved schools and other social institutions are or will be maintained. In other cases, their problems are to be solved by moving industry and facilities to them, *i.e.* decentralization of industry. The Land Planning and Land Use Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Subsistence Homesteads Division of the Department of the Interior, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority are all empowered and furnished with money to make these changes when opportunities present themselves and when the agriculturists can be convinced of the value of such changes. Several hundred million dollars are now available for this movement, and a great deal is actually being spent. Furthermore, the departments of the Federal Government have an agreement that if the Department of the Interior opens hitherto unused lands, for instance by irrigation or drainage projects, the equivalent in productivity shall be removed from agricultural lands in other places. To give an illustration, a million-acre irrigation project in Oregon which has an equivalent in productivity of six tons of alfalfa per acre per year would be endorsed only if the Secretary of Agriculture were empowered to retire from productivity six million acres of marginal farms which have a productivity of one ton of alfalfa per acre per year. There are so many small farms in the hands of these sustenance agriculturists that such a project

would involve moving hundreds of thousands of farmers and village people dependent upon them.

Neither the idea of control of agricultural production or of re-settlement of so-called marginal families has arisen immediately. They represent trends in American thinking and in American life. In December, 1920, the Fordney Emergency Tariff Bill attempted to increase farm incomes by raising the duties on farm products. In 1921 the War Finance Corporation tackled the problem through loans to finance increased exportation of agricultural products. The Capper-Volstead Act, authorizing cooperation among agricultural producers, was introduced into Congress, and the "agricultural bloc" was organized in the Senate. In 1922 President Harding called a National Agricultural Conference, the Capper-Volstead Cooperative Act was passed, and the tariffs on agricultural products were changed again. In 1923 a number of farm credit acts were passed, one of which, the Norbeck-Burtness Bill (HR 4159), attempted to meet the situation by furnishing credit to enable the farmer to diversify. In 1924 the first surplus relief bills were introduced by Senator McNary and by Congressman Haugen. Tariffs were raised and cooperative marketing was underwritten by the Government in the Capper-Williams Bill (HR 8679). In 1925 and every year since Federal attempts to direct economic rationalization in agriculture have increased. The Capper-Haugen Bill, the Purnell Act, the Dickinson Bill, the McKinley-Adkins Bill, the increase of tariffs on agricultural commodities, the appropriation for a division of cooperative marketing, the Curtis-Crisp Bill, and the creation of the Federal Farm Board illustrate the activities which led up logically to the Agricultural Adjustment Act.⁸ In other words, the problem of the family which arises out of these changes in commercial agriculture is not a transient thing, but a result of the recent general course of our culture.

In a similar way the re-settlement of land and the redistribution of population have not been entirely immediate emergency mea-

⁸ See Ch. 3 of Black, J. D., *Agricultural Reform in the United States*, New York, 1929.

sures, but are long-time, fluctuating adjustments in our culture. The Division of Land Use and Land Planning in the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, under the direction of Dr. L. C. Gray, has been in existence over a considerable period of years. O. E. Baker's graphic summary of American agriculture published in the 1915 Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture (followed by revisions in 1921 and again in 1931) was a leading influence on thought about the reorganization of the agricultural population in relation to land immediately after the World War. The Agricultural Land Utilization Bulletin of the Social Science Research Council, published in 1931, was merely a summary and discussion of research in this field indicative of the development of American thought toward the possibilities of reorganization of our population.⁹ Long before this publication the study by Black and Gray of "Land Colonization in the Great Lakes States" led to a development of thinking on the problem of the marginal land areas.¹⁰ Later works by E. L. Kirkpatrick, C. F. Clayton, and the other associates of L. C. Gray, and by the many co-workers of G. F. Warren and F. A. Pearson at Cornell University have intensified this thinking. We take care to point this out because we wish to make it clear that the problems involved did not appear over night, and will not so disappear. The Social Science Research Council recognized this when it recently authorized large expenditures for a national exploratory study of population redistribution in the United States of America.

FAMILY PROBLEMS IN RECONSTRUCTION

We see therefore that about 18 million people on relief, about 15 million members of commercial agricultural families, and a good many million marginal families, totaling altogether about a third of the American people, are undergoing vast changes in social structure and in economic organization which bring new

⁹ Black, J. D., Editor, *Research in Agricultural Land Utilization*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 2, June, 1931.

¹⁰ Black, J. D., and Gray, L. C., *Land Settlement and Colonization in the Great Lakes States*, U.S.D.A., Department Bulletin No. 1295, Washington, 1925.

influences to bear upon the family. All of these are in addition to the urbanization movement, the movement for decentralized industry, the movements toward the peripheral areas of large cities and industrial regions, and that other mass change which R. D. McKenzie calls "a significant but by no means uniform movement of population toward the deep-water rim of the country."¹¹

It is not our purpose to insist that the methods of family sociology emphasized by Le Play offer the *only* hypotheses for attacking these problems or that the conclusions reached by the use of this kind of sociology should be the entire or the fundamental considerations in policies of reorganization, whether private or public. On the other hand, we do point out that a population can recuperate from economic disadvantages much more quickly and easily than from social demoralization, and that a study of the relations between the family and the rest of society is most urgently needed at this time. Family safety may be as important in future America as soil erosion. Soil erosion is now being studied. The family needs study. A pre-war purchasing power for the commercialized farm family is important. At the same time, the sociological concomitants of attempts to change the customary economic orientation of the farm without clear thought as to its ultimate consequences on the family may be equally or more important in the long run. Relief for the unemployed and destitute is essential, but reconstruction is as essential as relief. We do not even know how much of this relief need arises from changes in the family type due to the anti-familistic doctrines now so popular.

We do not intend to analyze all of these problems. Rather we shall limit ourselves to an objective statement of the parts we have studied, endeavoring to point out the value of new hypotheses in their analysis. We have analyzed a group of the marginal farm population, the Ozark mountaineers. Our studies do not concern all the marginal farm families, but only those similar to the Ozark mountaineers. We do not pretend that we have solved the problem of the self-sustaining farmer by introducing sociology into the

¹¹ See *The Metropolitan Community*, New York, 1933, p. 20.

analysis of his position. Rather we believe that we have reached a helpful point of view and a somewhat valuable working hypothesis by the use of this method of analysis. A similar analysis is made of a decentralized industrial town in Massachusetts. Both of these studies show the significance of the family in dealing with these problems.

The remainder of this chapter gives concretely the results of a study of a relief problem in Massachusetts and shows the value of understanding the family type in this situation. The general tenor of our report is that *formal changes in the situation of a population without internal adaptations in the family structure are of no particular avail as measures of long-time relief or reconstruction.* This is similar to the hypothesis that changes in the economic situation when associated with certain types of changes in the family organization may be of no particular lasting value to a population. All of the main principles of the Le Play school of sociology are more or less connected with this idea. If there is a universal family type, change from one situation which overemphasizes individualism, to another will not reconstruct the family unless the emphasis on the sub-family type changes.

A STUDY OF A RELIEF FAMILY TYPE

The illustrative study deals with the adjustments made by families, mainly industrial, on relief in Massachusetts towns around the metropolitan area of Boston. These families depend directly or indirectly upon industry, in that the residents either work in local factories or commute to industrial districts. Some of them are in service industries depending immediately upon factories nearby, ranging from the grocery clerk who has a job while a local textile factory is busy to the vegetable farmer who can sell his products only when employment is good. Many of these families are now unemployed and are on relief. Many of them could meet the situation wholly or in part by turning to gardening and food production for themselves. The lands are available and many of them could do this without moving from their present homes. They could meet this situation at least in

part on a temporary basis until industry reopened to them. It was recognition of the possibilities of this semi-agricultural adaptation which led Mr. Hopkins, Federal Administrator, to announce on March 22, 1934, that the policy for state emergency relief administration should be to attempt rural rehabilitation as follows:

A home garden is possible to almost every family living either in the country or in towns of 5,000 or less population. Without reference to other self-sustenance measures which may be put into effect later, it should be the policy of state emergency relief administrations to refuse to extend relief to any family failing to plant and properly care for an adequate garden when the facilities therefor are available.

Obviously, it was possible for the family to adjust itself from the pure industrial type to the semi-industrial type without this stimulus from the relief authorities. However, we have the additional impetus given to the movement by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration which even provided methods for securing land, dwellings, livestock, and garden seed, as well as supplementary cash income for the destitute.

In order to study the adaptation of these families, a survey of certain towns was made toward the end of May, 1933.¹² As this period was close to the end of the planting season in Massachusetts, the survey gives a clear index of what adjustments the families had made two months after the announcement of this policy. It included the first forty-six towns west of Boston, all of them in the industrial areas of Boston and Worcester.¹³ All of these towns had, either in public or private hands, vacant lands available for gardening, where the relief families could carry on a large sustenance program without much difficulty other than the labor involved.

It was found that the 46 towns studied fell into three classes: (1) towns strictly agricultural, (2) towns partly agricultural and

¹² For assistance in field work thanks are due to Kingsley Davis, Neal DeNood and W. B. McKain.

¹³ The word "town" as used here means "township" in many other parts of the United States.

partly industrial, (3) towns strictly industrial (where the industry is located either in the town or in a city nearby).

In the strictly agricultural towns (all under 800 in population), few or no relief families were found. Of the relief families discovered, the economic dependence was due mostly to old age or physical disability. Practically every family, no matter how poor, managed to sustain itself by working small plots of land or laboring on larger farms. Naturally such people raise much of the food which they consume, and also engage in canning. Following is a typical quotation from a field agent's report. It concerns a town having only one family on relief.

This family have a garden and they do some canning of fruit and vegetables. They have one old horse, one cow and twenty-eight hens. The father and mother are not very well and the town pays them \$5.00 a week. They do not own the farm. This place has some forty acres of good land. The town acquired it through tax title, and is going to let the family stay on it.

These towns feel no need of sponsoring any garden programs or canning clubs. Some of the welfare agents in these towns feel that it would be advantageous to furnish certain families with seed and fertilizer even though the families are not on relief, as this might keep them from getting on relief in the future. However, no such program has been undertaken. One other factor which keeps families off relief in this type of town is that one family tends to help another through difficulties, rather than let it fall upon the community for help.

In the mixed industrial and agricultural towns the situation was different. The average town of this type had from twenty to forty families on direct relief in addition to a number engaged in work relief projects. Most of these families are composed of industrial workers rather than of farmers. Plenty of land was available to these people, but little use was made of it. They did not engage in sustenance gardening for one or all of three reasons: (1) the town did not particularly aid or encourage it, (2) the unemployed were not trained for farming, (3) many of the un-

employed did not want to grow foodstuffs. There were of course exceptions. One such is reported:

Twenty-seven families on relief on May 1, 1934. The chairman of the Board of Welfare arranged for all these families to have gardens. Families which had no land were given small plots to work. The town furnished seed, potatoes, and fertilizer, and farmers helped with the plowing. As these people for the most part had done no agricultural work previously, they are being taught by experienced farmers. The unemployed here were very eager to accept this type of relief.

This exception shows that the disinclination of the unemployed to sustenance gardening and canning could have been overcome; the field agent in this case reported that the success was due to active leadership. Most of the towns of this class, however, were not so fortunate. The reasons are apparent in the following excerpt:

No gardens were supervised or urged by this town. Private land offered for that purpose in 1932 or 1933 was not used by relief families or otherwise. No garden plans were made by the town for 1934. The Welfare Board is not interested in furnishing garden supplies. Food bought for the unemployed is alleged to be more effective.

Another town reported that three families on relief had gardens. The members of twenty-two families were considered too old to work. Fourteen families would not work as long as the town took care of them. They had been offered land to work but did not accept it; they had lived there all their lives and claimed that the town would have to take care of them.

In the third type of town—that in which the bulk of the population were industrial workers—the difficulties were even greater. The situation preventing sustenance gardens and canning activities was aggravated. Not only was each person on relief more divorced physically from the land, but both the town officials and the unemployed were urban-family-minded. A chairman of the relief board in one of these towns told the field worker that his town

was not in the least interested in any kind of sustenance farming or gardening, because, he said, the unemployed were industrial men, not gardeners or farmers. He wanted work projects in the town, in spite of the fact that the town was under five thousand in population. The field agent reported that there was land available in this town.

In some industrial towns the mills had land on which their laborers worked subsistence gardens. In times of depression when these families are out of work, the mill will often let them continue to work the land, and even sometimes to stay in the mill-owned houses. This policy, however, has not proved profitable to the mills, and there are cases where it has been discontinued.

In one town of this type, where two mills had closed down and the situation was bad, the officials declared that they were anxious to conduct a gardening project in the way of a community plot. However, the town was said to be financially incapable of doing anything. In the past there had been no supervised canning and no public welfare gardening, the only move made in this direction being a \$600 donation by a private agency for sustenance gardens, which proved quite successful. Apparently this is a case where the gravity of the situation has eliminated official indifference and popular apathy. In towns better situated financially indifference and apathy are still to be contended with.

From the evidence garnered in this study it appears that the sociological factors militating against sustenance gardening increase in direct proportion to the industrialization of the town. The more industrialized and urbanized the town, the less does the town aid or encourage sustenance gardening and canning, the less are the unemployed trained for that sort of work, and the less do the unemployed want to engage in it.

This survey shows that many communities are more interested in getting things done for the town, such as painting the town hall or modernizing their sewerage system, than they are in rehabilitating the relief families. This finding bears out a similar conclusion contained in a report of Mr. Hopkins of March 22, to the effect that "Unquestionably many county relief administrations have

heretofore seen in the relief program an opportunity to prosecute local Public Works enterprise, and have, unconsciously perhaps, attached greater importance to the accomplishment of such projects than to the welfare of individual destitute families within their respective communities. It is imperative that this conception, where held, be corrected."

Obviously this "conception" had not been corrected. The communities studied were not using the facilities which they had to promote sustenance gardens, subsistence production, or canning activities. Land, instruction in gardening, and seed and fertilizer were all available; yet with relatively few exceptions the towns had done nothing to aid or encourage relief families to make use of these facilities. In some cases there was lack of interest. Where there was interest, there was a lack of initiative. Out of the forty-six towns surveyed it was found that only two were sponsoring sustenance garden projects in 1933 and only one in 1934.

With the exception of 4-H clubs operating for the most part among adolescents, there was organized or supervised canning in only one town. Accurate detailed information on the amount and effects of home-canning without supervision could not be obtained, but it was found that most families which had gardens canned surplus vegetables and fruit. As in the case of sustenance gardening and farming, towns and families are not utilizing available facilities for preserving foodstuffs. Project for organized canning could profitably have been instituted in conjunction with projects for sustenance gardening.

The families were of the non-agricultural types (*ébranlées*). The individual looked elsewhere for social and economic discipline and support. A change in situation (dependency) made no change in the people, so that economic opportunities available to the family institution were unused. The family type which could and would use the economic opportunities did not appear.

The study, simple enough though it may seem, has great implications for the whole problem of adjustment and rehabilitation. Unless we face frankly the fact that in many cases the family type itself must be changed, relief may be at most only a temporary

remedy. If on the other hand, social pressure tending to bring about family change is relaxed in the least, the adjustments are not made. Once a type of family is created by the social forces about us, its resistance to certain forms of change seem at times to be almost unsurmountable.

In other words social reconstruction of the American family is a Herculean task not to be achieved over night. Among its other implications, this should make us pause before we undertake any great public measures, the results of which may tend to develop further unstable commercialized and industrialized family type.

CHAPTER IX

The Background of the Ozark Highlander

The first studies describing the further use of Le Play's system in contemporary America are concerned with the Highland people living in Horseneck, Izard County, Arkansas. They attempt to describe the institutional, functional, and cultural characteristics of a "family" system of living in one so-called sub-marginal agrarian area. The studies attempt to make a general typological analysis to illustrate the significance of family controls among the mountaineers and to compare this family system of living with other segments of American life. Complete case studies were made in sixteen mountain counties.¹ Case studies from one county were selected for detailed study since records on all the families in a township were available. This gave a compact, typological representation of the Highlander.

Le Play studied many whole communities in order to discover the common characteristics of the families. His monographs are collections based upon both the typical and the typological methods of analysis.²

In addition to the monograph using averages for the whole community, separate analyses are made in later chapters of types of families in the area. The Le Play method is supplemented by a statistical treatment of certain information about all families studied. We attempt to utilize the best elements of both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis without subjecting the method or content of the monograph to the shortcomings of either.

¹ Some of the proper names are changed so that the families cannot be identified.

² Sometimes Le Play took an average family of a typological community and sometimes a typological family of an average community. These two methods are clearly illustrated in the monographs presented in this study.

All records were collected by Highland workers trained by and associated with the junior author. The workers lived with the families, sharing their life and observing, recording, and interpreting their behavior. Each worker spent three and one-half weeks in each family.

THE AREA

Izard County, Arkansas, is one of a group of sixteen Highland counties of north central Arkansas. It is typical of a large number of Highland counties which form part of an area known as the Ozark Highlands.³ Long before the state of Arkansas was carved out of the Louisiana Purchase the region of the Ozarks was known as a land of great promise, rich in natural resources.⁴ Hernando de Soto probably visited the area in 1541 and Coronado in 1542. Thus, white men penetrated these hills fifty years after the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus and nearly seventy-five years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. Henry Schoolcraft, the first traveler in these regions to leave a written record of his journeys, visited the Ozark area in 1818. The French voyagers, who abbreviated the names of places they visited, used to say they were going *aux arcs*, which phrase easily became anglicised as "Ozarks."

For a large area of the county and for the portion studied in the sample the name "hills" is appropriate. The name best suited to the area studied is the "Ozark Highlands." This term is applied to the mountains, plateaux, and hill sections as well as to the sloping border areas, all of which topographical features characterize this region.

³ Karr, Shannon, *A History of Izard County*, chs. 2-4, Melbourne, Ark., 1922.

⁴ Herndon, Dallas T., *Highlights of Ark. History*, Ark. History Commission, Little Rock, Ark., 1922; Thwaites, R., *Early Western Travels*, vol. xxxvi, A. Clarke & Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1905; Ash, Thomas, *Travels in America*, London, 1682, pp. 273-75; Cumming, E. C., *Tour of the Western Country*; Thwaites, R., *Early Western Travels*, vol. iv, p. 299; Sauer, C. O., *Geography of the Ozark Highlands of Missouri*, pp. 73-170, The Geographic Society of Chicago, Chicago Bulletin No. 7, 1920; Schoolcraft, Henry, *View of the Lead Mines*, New York, 1819; Schoolcraft, Henry, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Regions of the Ozark Mountains*, Philadelphia, 1835.

In general, this Highland region has three distinguishing characteristics: (1) a higher altitude than that of the surrounding regions; (2) greater relief, and (3) general accordance of summit levels.

"Genetically the Highland is an elevated peneplain, developed upon domed rocks, which are for the most part highly resistant to erosion. It has been uplifted very unevenly and being composed of different rocks situated at exceedingly varying distances from vigorous drainage lines, its various portions have been modified in different ways and to different degrees by erosion."⁵

The borders have in general a less rugged topography than the interior regions, owing to the fact that their erosion is well beyond the stage of greatest relief. With the exception of the south and southwest the Ozark Highlands are bound on all sides by plains. The transition from Highland to Plain is very gradual. The Boston Mountains on the south and southwest rise to the highest elevation, 2300 feet above sea level.

The principal streams are White and Strawberry Rivers, both of which flow in a southerly and southeasterly direction. The former flows along the southwestern boundary of the county and the latter across its northeastern portion. Between the rivers is a watershed running in the same direction. The principal tributaries of the White River are Piney Creek, Mill Creek, Knob Creek, Hurricane Creek, Rocky Bayou and Lafferty's Creek. The principal tributary of Strawberry River is Caney Fork.

The climate of Izard County is characterized generally by mild winters and long warm summers. During the winter rather short periods of cold weather are soon followed by longer periods of warm weather. The advent of these "cold snaps" is sudden, sometimes making living uncomfortable for Highland people, and is dangerous to the crops. The winters are sufficiently mild to permit plowing to be carried on during some part or all of every month of the year. The mean annual temperature for the

⁵ Sauer, C. O., *Geography of the Ozark Highlands of Missouri*, pp. 6-15, Chicago, 1920.

county is 59 degrees Fahrenheit. The mean temperature for January is 38 degrees and for July 77.7 degrees. The average date for the last killing frost in the spring is April 8th; in the fall, October 19th. This gives 193 days frost-free during the year.

Rainfall is ample for the growth of all crops. Heavy rainfall occurs during the winter and spring months. The amount of precipitation is less during the fall and summer months. March and May are the months of greatest and October the month of least rainfall. There is considerable variation in the amount of rainfall during the critical months of June, July, and August. The rainfall during the summer months is frequently irregular and becomes a source of some anxiety to farmers during an important part of their growing season. The normal annual precipitation for the county is 40" to 45". Snowfall is light and may remain on the ground for short periods of time but rarely for a long time.⁶

Drainage is excessive over much of the Highland area. The wash is rapid and during extremely heavy rainfall considerable soil is carried away. Swift-flowing streams, rapidly filled by sudden and frequent downpours, cause considerable damage to the soil and to the crops. Valuable creek bottom lands have been covered with a heavy sand and gravel deposit. No serious erosion takes place on the ridge tops, which are sandy in nature and possess better drainage than other areas. Numerous excellent springs abound and in most places pure well water can be obtained at a depth of fifty feet. Owing to certain actions the river bottom land of the White and Strawberry Rivers suffers from inundation during the rainy season.⁷

⁶ "The Soils of Arkansas," *University of Arkansas Bulletin*, pp. 6-11, No. 187, Fayetteville, Arkansas, June, 1923.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11. See also U. S. Geological Folio No. 202, Eureka Springs Quadrangle, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.; Girty, G. H., *Fauna of the Batesville Sandstone of Northern Arkansas*, U. S. Geological Survey Bulletin 595; 1915; *Soils of Arkansas*, University of Ark. Bulletin 187, p. 12, Fayetteville, Arkansas, June, 1923; Marlbut, C. F., *Soil Reconnaissance of the Ozark Region*, Bureau of Soils, U. S. Department of Geology, Washington, D. C., 1911; and Girty, G. H., *Fauna of the So-Called Boone Chert near Batesville, Ark.*, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington, D. C., 1915.

Izard County does not have a bountiful supply of mineral deposits. In the extreme northeastern section of the state there are some iron deposits, and in the southern and southeastern sections are found extensive deposits of manganese and phosphate. Phosphate and manganese deposits are to be found in very large quantities in the area from which the sample has been taken.

In 1890 a careful estimate of the amount of good short-leaved pine was given as 500,000,000 feet. Much of that extensive supply has been cut. The original amount of standing timber was probably three times as great as the estimate of the 1890 report. Lumber production from the pine timber reached its peak in 1915.

Bottom lands and adjacent bluffs are covered with white and black oak, red cedar, and black and sweet gums all of good quality. The white oak is of superior quality and is used extensively in making barrel staves. In the northeastern section of the county most of the growth is post oak, blackjack, ash, cherry, walnut, and other hardwoods, which are to be found in great quantity. The forests produce a great amount of timber for saw logs and veneer logs, firewood, pulp wood, fence posts, railroad ties and piling poles. The commercial use of timber of the county is diminishing rapidly because of the depletion of the supply. In recent years the Federal Government has been conducting a reforestation program. State and county funds are also appropriated for forest and timber development.

The chief products of the soil are the grain and forage crops. Corn, oats, wheat, and rice are the most important of the grains. Timothy, clover, and alfalfa are the chief forage crops. Other field crops of importance are cotton and sorghum. Vegetables and items for home consumption such as potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips, beans, peas, beets, cabbage, cantaloupes, watermelon, onions, carrots, tomatoes, peanuts and tobacco are grown in large quantities. Orchard fruits including grapes, apples, peaches, cherries, plums, and quinces are important. Small fruits include blackberries, dewberries, and strawberries. Black walnuts and pecans are used for both commercial and domestic consumption.

For the year ending 1929 the total value of the crops of the county was \$1,450,216.⁸

The history of transportation begins with the establishment of the mail routes. Prior to 1848 there was but one post office in the county. The early pioneers secured their mail at Batesville in Independence County, thirty miles away. The journey was generally made on horseback and meant two days of hard riding. Roads were few in number and ill-fated for ordinary ox-team travel. For the year ending March 31, 1827, a record of a post office in Izard County courthouse reveals receipts of \$1.87. This report⁹ records postal receipts for Izard County from 1877 to 1934 and gives the mail routes, the first of which was established in 1830. The first permanent post office was established in 1853 near La Crosse. The first mail route began at Walnut Ridge in Lawrence County and ended at Harrison in Boone County, a distance of 160 miles. This was then the only road of importance in the county. Melbourne, the county seat, La Crosse, Mt. Olive, Pineville, and Iuka were all located on this route.

From 1853 to 1880 the territory was used largely as pasture to browse livestock on its way from the north and west to the market centers of the south. In spite of the frequent washouts and their steepness these mountain roads in the county were superior to many of the wilderness roads of the period. The coming of the railroad in 1880 had little effect upon the usefulness of the mountain roads. The original pioneer mountain roads are the principal highways of the state at the present time. There are today sixty miles of improved highways in the county, the chief of which is the Batesville-Mammoth Spring Highway.

Railroad facilities are limited in the area; in fact, they are poor in comparison to many other counties. Some of the mountain counties have no railroads at all (e.g. Newton County). Economic and social isolation has been the inevitable result of

⁸ 1930 Census reports on Agriculture; Arkansas Bureau of Mines and Agriculture, Reports for 1930-31; 1931-32, Little Rock, Arkansas.

⁹ House Document No. 176, 23rd Congress of the U. S., Second Session, Washington, D. C.

this situation. The rugged character of the country makes railroad construction and rail operation expensive. In 1880 a railroad was constructed to Batesville, Independence County, from Little Rock. In 1884 a railroad was started from Batesville, Independence County, Arkansas, to Carthage, Missouri. The road was constructed to Cushman, Independence County but was discontinued. Cushman is still the terminium of this road and is the closest station to the families studied. There are about fifty miles of railroad in the county at the present time.

POPULATION

A. Origin and early conditions

John Lafferty is recorded as the first man to have made his permanent home in what is now Izard County. He came with his father from Ireland and settled in the western part of North Carolina in 1760. As a young man John Lafferty moved into Tennessee, near the Kentucky border, and married a Lindsey of pure Scotch descent. Here his children were born. He hunted and trapped over a great portion of southeastern Missouri and northeastern Arkansas. In 1807 he brought his family to what is now known as Lafferty's Creek and here he cleared land for his home. At the time of his settlement Izard County was one of the wildest regions of the new frontier. His nearest neighbors were the Cadron family, living near what is now Conway, Arkansas, more than 100 miles away. John Lafferty died in 1815 but left a large family to help develop the area.

In 1810 a number of immigrants made their way into the White River section of the county. These inhabitants included many fugitives from justice from the Mississippi and Tennessee valleys. This fertile valley afforded a secluded hideout from the law. Early in 1810 Dan Wilson and his three sons broke ground at the mouth of Rocky Bayou and here the first town was to take form. A blacksmith shop, a trading center, and a race track were the first units. This settlement was near the present site of Guion. The main points of location of the early settlers as the tide of

immigration began increasing were along the White and Strawberry Rivers. Settlements at the mouth of Piney Creek, where the first water power mill was built, mark the beginnings of the industries of the county.

The early immigrants were mostly of southern origin, the majority coming from Tennessee, Kentucky, the Carolinas, and Mississippi. Of seventy-six of the early families migrating into the area by 1850, 37 came from Tennessee, 7 from Kentucky, 10 from North Carolina, 4 from Georgia, 3 from Mississippi, 2 from Missouri, and one each from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Alabama. Most of these early settlers were of the restless frontier type, leading a sort of nomadic life of hunting and trapping alternating with brief periods of farming.¹⁰

Three regions are the reservoirs of supply of these people.¹¹ The first of these is the Scotch-Irish area in central and western Pennsylvania; the second the German and the Dutch sections in central Pennsylvania; and the third the English settlements in Virginia, North Carolina, and the East. There is perhaps a larger strain of English in these people than among most American western settlements. It is safe to say that these Highlanders are, on the whole, descendants of settlers who were native born and who because of their peculiar genius, common interests, and desires, developed into a homogeneous type of people which we have called the Highlander.¹²

These hunter-frontiersmen gave only incidental attention to agriculture. As the more accessible and richer portions of the county were occupied, men of this class were crowded further into the Highlands. To these men the hills of the Highland region were by no means an undesirable area. Here was a healthful country, abundant game, springs of cold water, patches of

¹⁰ Halfern, Albert, *Der Squire*, Hamburg, 1857, p. 12.

¹¹ Winsor, Justin, *The Westward Movement*, Boston, 1897; see also Shinn, J. H., *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1908; and Monks, J. W., *History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas*, New York, 1846, pp. 7-8.

¹² Stoddard, Amos, *Sketches of Louisiana*, Philadelphia, 1812, p. 237; and Schoolcraft, Henry, *View of the Lead Mines*, New York, 1819, pp. 171-2.

bottom land sufficient to produce the small amounts of corn and cotton which they needed, and plenty of the "elbowroom" which men of their type desired.¹³

The typical homestead in these early days consisted of a one- or two-room log cabin surrounded by fields in which the dead tree stumps remained standing. Many of the houses were of the double log cabin type with an intermediate space which was roofed over. This space furnished a cool and airy spot in summer for the household activities. The agricultural conditions of these early settlers have been well-described by a German traveler, who compared them with European conditions.¹⁴ He observed the following points of contrast: (1) land was easily procured but labor was scarce, (2) buildings and fences were inexpensive, (3) the only land fenced was that from which stock was excluded, (4) stock received almost no attention, (5) fertilizers were not used, (6) corn was the basis of all good agriculture with cotton for home consumption and tobacco to sell for cash, and (7) maple trees supplied the home with sugar and syrup.

Trade was carried on chiefly by farmers who carried their produce long distances to the markets and exchanged them for the manufactured goods they wished. Before the introduction of steam, their chief means of travel by water was of three types: canoe, flat boat, and keelboat. Their chief articles of importation were cutlery, tools, plow irons, glassware, drugs, dry goods, and a few groceries.¹⁵

Stock raising early became an important pioneer occupation. Many of these Highlanders had splendid stock on their farms. Cattle and sheep were the chief stocks exported and many hogs were raised. The early importance of stock raising has been described clearly by the early visitors to the region.¹⁶

The first courthouse was built in 1829 and was located on the

¹³ Stoddard, p. 188.

¹⁴ Duden, J., *Reise nach den westlichen staaten*, Elberfeld, Gedruckt bei St. Lucas, 1829, pp. 269-71.

¹⁵ Baudissin, F. C., *Der Ansiedler in Missouri Staate*, Iserlohn, J., Baedeker, 1854, p. 26 *et seq.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

White River at the mouth of the Big North Fork, now in Baxter County.¹⁷ In 1830 the county seat was moved to Athens, which then consisted of one store, a blacksmith shop, a tavern, and a saw mill.¹⁸ Izard County has today five principal towns: Melbourne, the county seat, with a population of 380; Calico Rock, with a population of 659; Guion, with a population of 288; Franklin, with a population of 430; and Mount Pleasant, with a population of 433. The people are descendants of those early pioneers who built strong institutions and raised sturdy descendants to maintain them. There is one bank in the county, and two newspapers. The principal industrial facilities are a lime kiln, sand-mills, ice factories, cotton gins, and saw mills.

Forky Rock, or Horseneck Community, is one of the oldest communities in northeastern Arkansas. It is located in the southern corner of Izard County, rather close to the southern rim of the Ozark Uplift. It lies in the area known as the Ozarks and shares the customs and traditions of the Highland country.

In 1850, or shortly before, a Cumberland Presbyterian church and school was built. This institution was built on the banks of a creek called Forky Rock Creek,¹⁹ from which the community took its present name, Forky Rock. The name was later changed to Horseneck, but most of the old residents still call it by its original name.

B. Number and Vital Characteristics

The total population of the county in 1930 was 12,872, and of Horseneck township 433. The 1930 census terms 82.7 percent of this population as rural farm and 18.3 percent as rural non-farm. There is no urban population in the county. The non-farm population is confined to the small hamlets. There were 2,935 families in the county in 1930, of which 81 percent were farm fam-

¹⁷ Shannon, Karr, *History of Izard County*, Melbourne, Arkansas, 1922, *Der Squire*, Hamburg, 1857, p. 70.

¹⁸ Shannon, Karr, *History of Izard County*, Melbourne, Arkansas, 1922, p. 60.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

ilies and 18.9 percent rural non-farm families. The total number of people in the families studied was 288 or 66.6 percent of the total population of Horseneck township.

Except for the periods following the Civil War and the World War, the population has steadily increased in density. The increase in population during the decade following these events rapidly offset the losses from the emigration of young men to war. During the last decade the county increased its area by adding some sparsely settled regions from an adjoining county (Sharp), which accounts for the drop in density rate during the decade 1920-30.

The average number of persons in the household for the county was 3.97, for the families studied was 5.74. This large number of persons per family can be accounted for partly by the attitude of the Highlanders concerning their filial relationship with the family. A filial attitude keeps the older children, sons and daughters-in-law and their families in the parental home longer than is customary in other groups. A relatively higher birth rate and the present economic pressure, which has sent many children back to the parental home for care and protection, also account for some of it.

The number of males in the families exceed the number of females. The total number of children was 257, 151 being males and 106 females. The total excess of males over females was 45 or 140 males for 100 females. Among the farm owners the excess of males is greater than among the tenants.

This excess of males over females is in agreement with the general trend in rural population in the United States.²⁰

The tenant ratio of male births to female births was lower than that of the owners and the proportion of males to females higher in owner than in tenant families.

The population of the families studied contains 21.9 percent under 10 years of age, 27 percent 10-15 years of age; 20 percent 15-20 years of age; 16.2 percent 20-25 years of age; 14.9 percent 25-40 years of age. The ratio under 10 years of age is greater

²⁰ *Recent Social Trends*, New York, 1933, ch. 1; and *Farmer Population of Selected Counties*, Bureau of Census reports, Washington, D. C., 1920 and 1930.

than that in Arkansas generally (21.9 percent for the families studied and 20.5 percent for the state). The total population under 25 years of age in the families studied is 60 percent as compared with 47 percent for the United States, and 49.1 percent for the county. The excess of young people who have not migrated to urban areas is greater than that for many other places. The strong familialistic tradition tends to encourage children to remain in or near the parental home. The percentage of the total population between 25 and 45 years of age is 19.7 percent, which is considerably under the 30 percent for the United States as a whole. That for the county is 18.4 percent. In the age group ranging from 45 to 70 years the percentage is 19.05. This is lower than the percentage for the United States as a whole (21.7), while that of the county is 14.1.

The age group 70 years and over is 4.3 percent of the families studied, while for the United States it is 11.0 percent and for Izard County 10.8 percent. The economic productivity of the area is not lowered, but rather raised by so much young blood at home in the prime of life. The presence of so many young people (85.1 percent) able to assist on the farm and at home increases the economic productivity of each unit, although it may reduce returns per capita. So far as labor power in the producer-consumer unit is concerned, the small number of old people puts no great economic strain on the resources of the family in the matter of caring for its aged dependents. Partly as a result of this there were no cases of old age dependency in the families studied, although incomes per capita are low.

In the families studied the crude birth rate is 36.1 per 1000 population. For the county the rate was 20.3 per 1000 population; for the state 22.2. This crude birth rate is high in comparison with the crude birth rates of various other populations. If the standard birth rates were applied, the results would show still wider divergencies between urban areas, other rural areas and our sample. The present birth rate is sufficiently high for the population to maintain itself and to supply many new members to other districts through migration.

The families had an average of 5.0 living children at the time of study. For the owners the average was 5.3 and for the tenants 4.1. Only agricultural countries without exaggerated birth restriction ordinarily equal this average.

Most important as affecting the high fertility of these people are religion and familialistic ties, the economic organization, simpler living, a relatively much less general knowledge concerning birth control, and earlier marriage. Religion here is strictly familialistic and carries many traditional attitudes against birth control and sexual freedom. The family traditions of the people make it obligatory for the family head to leave a numerous progeny. Sound economic conditions require a large number of children to carry on the work of the unit, even though that work is light and inefficiently performed. The pace of life is not rapid. The cost of rearing children is slight (see amounts spent for medical care) and the young soon become producing units in the agricultural pursuits of the family. The basic cost for the fundamentals (food, clothing, and shelter) is little more for 5 or 6 children than for 2 or 3. The simple country life entails few social wants and the parents have little desire to climb the individualistic "social ladder." The mobility of the population being low the parents do not consider it necessary to put aside the rearing of children while they themselves attempt to climb the social ladder. Marriages are early.

There was an excess of births over deaths in Izard County, Arkansas, from 1920-30. Births were 2241, and deaths 514. This left an excess of births over deaths of 1727.²¹ The death rate per 1000 population for the county was 2.9 in 1930.²²

If we examine the matter of still-births among the families studied, we discover that the rate reported per 100 births was 2.2 in 1928, 1.9 in 1929, and .7 in 1930 contrasted with 3.2 for all rural whites in the United States registration area in 1924. This rate is probably nearer the truth than the several crude death rates.

²¹ Arkansas State Board of Health, *Vital Statistics Report*, Little Rock, Ark., 1930.

²² U. S. Census Report for 1930, Population. This figure is probably erroneous.

Duration of life is one indication of health. The Ozark families show low infant mortality rates. Still-births are few, indicating a strong adult population of mothers. The comparative mortality rates are low. If the statistics are correct, it appears that the vitality and health of these families is better than that of urban and other rural areas in the United States.

Perhaps the homogeneous structure of the rural family in the hills gives a greater peace of mind, and effects a more excellent adaptation to environment than is found in many other areas. Further, work out-of-doors, clean air, sunshine, and natural surroundings, together with a relatively lower density of population are contributing, if not essential, factors in this lower rural mortality rate.

The percentage of those studied who married under 21 years of age is 28 percent for males and 84 percent for females. The young woman becomes a spinster early if she does not marry. The children of this generation tend to marry slightly earlier than their fathers did, 49 percent of the sons and 87 percent of the daughters having taken that step before reaching the age of 21. The early marriage of young women is very marked, but both sexes marry earlier than the general average age of marriage in the United States.

The Highland people are less inclined to remain single than those of urban areas. Family responsibility is encouraged by the mores. It represents one of the fundamental characteristics of this strong familialistic society. There were no divorces and few, if any, desertions found in the families studied.

C. Psychological and Moral Characteristics

1. Psychological Types. The Highland dweller in the Ozarks is southern in sentiment, though he is first of all a Highlander. His environment and heredity have joined to make him an extreme individualist. In using this term we mean that these Highlanders are "partisans of private ownership, of individual or family initiative and responsibility and of individual or family independence and self-reliance in the management of one's eco-

nomic affairs." This sort of individualism is not to be confused with other vague meanings, such as "egotism, anti-sociality, inability to work in co-operation and in teams, a disregard of the legitimate interests of his fellowmen, a prevalence of the antagonistic attitudes or an over-developed thirst for 'personal individualism.' "

The temper of the Highlander is, in reality, the independent, democratic temper of the pioneer frontiersman, though the frontier has disappeared.²³

The political views and affiliations of the Highlander are interesting. He remains individualistic in his politics. He cannot be depended upon to vote with the "solid South." He may vote a Republican ticket, and frequently his stand on various issues is opposed to that of his Lowland friends, his neighbors, and even his kinspeople. His interest in politics is intense and his topic of conversation, whether at home, at the country store, or along a mountain trail is largely of a political nature.

The mountain man is a great trader, and in this he is a genuine artist. His perennial shortage of cash may have developed this ability. Most of his business contacts and transactions are well-considered "trades." The Highlander gives you credit for being as good a trader as himself. If you catch him up, he counts you as a careful trader. If you try to outwit or cheat him, you will find him shrewd and circumspect. His politics give him large range for his trading propensities, for most of his politics is merely trading. Interest in politics is of course local, the election of the sheriff getting much more attention than that of Presidential candidates.

Few books and lectures on "mountain men" lack the familiar description of him as "the purest Anglo-Saxon left in the United States." Upon their cabin walls hang the rifles with which they furnish their tables with food and guard their homes and still from snooping outsiders. Audiences and readers feel cheated without the usual descriptions of the barefoot man and ragged-

²³ Hogue, Wayman, *Back Yonder*, New York, 1932; also Halfern, Albert, *Der Squire*, Hamburg, 1857, p. 70.

looking woman. All such represent a "misinterpreted and misapplied" theory of the ancestry of these people.²⁴ The assumption is made that these sturdy mountain folk are the descendants of mean and indentured whites of Colonial days. This interpretation is read into the ancestry of the mountain man, and is looked for as expectantly as is, by the Bostonian, the closing phrase of the Governor's Thanksgiving Proclamation, "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." Of the three sources of origin of the people only one goes back to a region where indentured servants were common and by no means were a majority of the Highland settlers of this class.

Distinctive customs appear strange and crude only when one forgets that they were common to the daily life of our pioneer people only a decade ago, and the Highlanders are much nearer their pioneer fathers than are the people of urban areas.²⁵

The pride of these Highland people has been wounded by the distorted accounts of their life written by travelers from urban areas. In their effort to describe the simplicity and picturesqueness of the Highland man and his home life, travelers have unwittingly caricatured the Highlander, thereby arousing his antagonism.

The people of the hills are naturally hospitable, and there is a real sense of injury when their former guests, who need not have visited the Highlanders unless they wished, write extensive novels and make sweeping statements which do the Highlander gross injustice. The Mission Boards of churches seem to forget that no one cares to be regarded, even by implication, as an object of missionary endeavor.

2. Mobility. Ninety-two percent of the heads of families and 98 percent of the wives were born in Izard County. Two percent of the operators were born in another county and 4 percent in another state. Two percent were foreign born. One and three-tenths percent were Negroes.

²⁴ Ellis, J. Breck, *The Little Fiddler of the Ozarks*, Chicago, 1913, pp. 1-50; also Fiske, John, *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*, Boston, 1897, vol. II, p. 311.

²⁵ Williamson, Thames, *The Woods Colt*, New York, 1933, pp. 1-40.

They show a high degree of similarity in acquired socio-psychical characteristics such as language, beliefs, mores, etc. Few migrants or foreigners are to be found in their midst. A comparison of the parentage of the population with that of other American groups clearly shows the high degree of homogeneity of these people, due largely to their common origin.

Of fifty families of operators studied 25 percent have made no residential changes since they moved to their present farms. The average family had resided on their farms 18.5 years. Thirty-nine percent of the owners and 36 percent of the tenants have moved less than three times since their marriage, and all changes of residence were within a radius of three miles. Seven percent of the owners had moved in from outside the county and 7 percent of the tenants had moved in from outside of the state. Of all moves made 55 percent were to nearby farms. These figures point to a relatively immobile population. The tenants seem more immobile than the owners, but all shifts and changes of residence are slight. The operators are for the most part entrenched on their farms and remain there until death. A son takes over the home-stead, maintaining the farm and following in the footsteps of his father. There is little farm abandonment. The tendency is rather to return to the area and to reopen farmsteads.

Of the children living at home or nearby, 14 percent are 15-19 years of age, 16 percent are 20-24 years of age, and 38 percent are 24 years and over. Only 3.2 percent of those children 20-24 and only 11 percent of the children 24 years and over have moved out of the community. Most of those who have left the community are still settled within the county.

These facts show an immobile group, more so than usual because of the present economic depression in which there are few jobs open in the lowlands. In good times, as the records show, the members of the family who are not "chosen" to remain on the homestead slip gradually into the lowlands and into the nearby cities. They travel as cheaply as possible to Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, and the Arkansas lowlands. Some even go East. The isolation and nature of the life rarely requires or permits trips

to distant places, except during good times, for jobs for the excess population. This is true of both owner and tenant groups. Inter-community and intra-community territorial mobility are likewise low.

This is brought out by a study of twenty-eight owners and five tenants who reported supplementary occupations. Practically all employment was near their residence and for short periods of time. Owners secured the most steady supplementary employment, which was usually road work. The chief occupations engaged in were road work, milling, distilling liquor, ginning, mining, clerking store, teaching, work in sawmill, cotton picking, and woodcutting.

When compared with other rural areas the operators engage much less in outside work and receive much less in supplementary income. In the Vermont study²⁸ 142 farm operators engaged in 15 different supplementary occupations, producing a total of \$56,324 (average per farmer \$396) in income for the year 1928-29. The Ozark study showed 11 different supplementary occupations with an average income of \$15 per farmer. The Ozark population consists primarily of independent proprietors concerned chiefly with the business of farming.

There was no unemployment as all the members were working or living at home. For the county the percentage of workers employed in 1930 was less than 1 percent. There had been no federal, state, or local relief aid in the families studied. These families give their members food, clothing, shelter, and security. The periods of business depression which periodically overtake the urban dweller are unknown in the area. The family continues to perform its economic function to its fullest capacity.

About 48 percent of the operators were fifty years of age or over. Young men become farmers here by climbing from either the apprentice or the tenant stages to ownership. When the apprentice comes of age the homestead is often split up for additional

²⁸ Muse, Marianne, *The Standard of Living on Specific Owner-Operator Farms*, p. 37, University of Vermont, Bulletin 340, June, 1932.

cultivation. When he marries the new family is held in close relationship to the old.

There is ample evidence of the existence of an "agricultural ladder" in the area but the stages or "rungs" of the ladder are considerably less marked than those in many other rural areas. Vertical mobility is going on at a slow rate. A long period is spent by the young farmer as an apprentice to his father or other close relative. None of the operators studied became owners before the age of thirty-five. In many cases the adult operators were living on the homestead, which would become theirs upon the death of the head of the family or the living heir. Most of the tenants do share cropping as a preliminary to ownership. In addition there are a few perpetual tenants. These rise to the status ownership very slowly, if at all.

The familistic system of the Highlands makes possible the retention of certain young men in the family unit, working as apprentices for that unit until they take over the responsibilities of the family as full owners. The security, the responsibility, and the future compensations of the family to the individual minimize the "pull of the city" and emphasize the importance of waiting and working. This is rather unique in America and owes its existence to the peculiar family organization which is preserved among these Highland people. The other children migrate to other or new farms or find jobs elsewhere. However, the land resources are not as yet limited, so that no difficulty from overcrowding has been felt during the depression.

3. Education. The average schooling of the heads of families did not extend beyond the sixth grade. The average for the wives was 5.7, the sons 7.4, and the daughters 6.8. The children thus obtained more schooling than their fathers and mothers. These figures probably exaggerate the amount of schooling since the people tend to credit themselves with an eighth grade education, though actually they seldom attain the fifth or sixth grade. Although about 74 percent of the children had received no high school instruction, the percentage of illiteracy for the county was only 3.9 percent. The average school year lasts 27 weeks.

Those who are familiar with the mountains know that illiteracy is not necessarily the same as ignorance, and that the ability to pass certain psychological tests is not necessarily a good test of knowledge. Many a Highlander would compare very favorably in intelligence with the college graduate who comes to the area to educate him, if by intelligence we mean adaptation to environment. The Highlander is unfamiliar with the culture and conditions of the outside world. If his Highland home in its isolation has shut out certain aspects of knowledge which might be useful to him, it has also excluded some harmful things. He lacks perspective, and prefers to learn from his personal experience rather than to accept the stored knowledge of the group. He pays a dual penalty of too much individualism and too much illiteracy.

The first schools in the area were private. The teachers canvassed the community with a written contract stating the terms under which instruction would be given. The teacher took part of his pay in board at the homes of his pupils and was paid the balance in acceptable produce, such as pork, meal, and sorghum.²⁷ The men of the community erected a log school house which usually consisted of one large room. All furniture was homemade and the equipment was meagre. School conditions have not changed much since that time. Seventy-one percent of the pupils of Izard County are to be found in either one- or two-room school houses. The county ranks 69th in this item among the 75 counties of the state. There are no grade-A schools in the county. There are two grade-B, three grade-C, five grade-D, and the remainder are unclassified. Of all the pupils 88.11 percent are enrolled in unclassified schools.²⁸

Children are allowed to follow their own inclinations about attending school and the parents too often do not see any advantage in an education. During the crop season children are expected to remain away from school and assist with the crop. The

²⁷ Shannon, Karr, *History of Izard County, Arkansas*, 1922, p. 35.

²⁸ Arkansas State Department of Education, *Financial and Administrative Needs of the Public Schools in Arkansas*, vols. I and II, Little Rock, Arkansas, November, 1930.

condition of many mountain roads makes it impossible for children to get to school regularly, though the distance they go on nearly impossible roads is often amazing. No effort is made to enforce attendance, and the rural school consolidation program has little force in the hills. However, it should be borne in mind that the Highland area would have little use for the so-called highly developed educational system of urban areas. But there is a great need for an efficient educational system which will encourage better ways of living, and stimulate more intelligent effort among the Highland people in meeting some of the pressing problems of the area. There is a great need for emphasis in the schools on work that fits into the mountain life. One cannot expect the Highlander to secure a great deal of practical benefit from agricultural instruction based upon valley and bottom land farming since the hill farm contains little land similar to these. A high school cooking-class demonstration dinner prepared not a single dish from the usual foods consumed by the students of the class. Cleanliness is usually not well observed in the school buildings.

4. Mores and Morals. Facts concerning illegitimate children are difficult to secure. Only after careful observation and by living with the family does one learn the real parentage of some of the children. Five families with seven illegitimate children were found among the families studied. In two of the families illegitimate children, sons and daughters of the head of the family, were living in the family with the children born in wedlock. There seemed to be no distinction drawn between the children. The illegitimate children bore the family name and had all the privileges of children born in wedlock. The parents of the illegitimate children resided among the families studied. Three families reported illegitimate children (grandchildren) who were living in the home of their parents. The presence of illegitimate children gave no index of relative moral conditions because methods of preventing conception and of securing abortions are not well known by the people.

When such illegitimate births occur the bond between child and family is not greatly disturbed. There seems to be a strong

sense of family solidarity and responsibility on the part of the heads of these families to care for their own blood relations.

Seven families reported eleven cases of delinquencies or "queerness" of some sort. Since there are no state, county or township figures for defectiveness, it is difficult to make any statements regarding the area. No tests were taken to determine the state or degree of defectiveness. A rough classification of the cases observed is as follows: dementia praecox, 3; feeble-mindedness, 7; retarded, 1. One case of a deaf-mute was reported. The report of the State Hospital for Nervous Diseases records no admissions from the county from 1925 to 1932. The report of the State Board of Health shows that of the 38 deaths, 5.2 per cent were from cerebral hemorrhage and 10.4 percent from senility. These facts, though very incomplete, reveal no great amount of defectiveness among the people.

Admissions to the Arkansas State Penitentiary show ten from Izard County for the years 1928-1932.²⁹ The crimes committed were as follows: assisting rape, 1; murder, 1; liquor violations, 6; theft, 1. The township reports only one murder in its history, and the county records three. Since 1928 only two girls and no boys from Izard County were committed to the training school. The chief crimes which are brought to trial occur in connection with liquor violations. This does not mean that violence does not occur. Crimes of violence are by no means rare, but the sympathy of the community is often with the offender or in favor of private justice rather than with the law of the courts. For example, in 1930 a man stabbed another and got off by paying the costs only. The community sympathized with the offender, though the offense might have proved serious. However, the population as a whole is highly law-abiding.

The area is relatively free from vice. The behavior, on the whole, seems to point to stable families developing strong moral codes. A most common idea about the Highlander is that he is a "moonshiner." This is a very exaggerated notion.³⁰ There are,

²⁹ Arkansas State Penitentiary Reports, 1928-1932, Little Rock, Arkansas.

³⁰ Randolph, Vance, *The Ozarks, An American Survival of Primitive Society*, New York, 1931, ch. 8.

of course, moonshiners among the mountain people, as there are bootleggers to be found in urban areas, but they do not represent a large portion of the population. The same picture is overdrawn with respect to feuds and family conflicts of a lesser nature. Moonshining is due largely to economic reasons.

The family conflicts which occur are the result of family quarrels of long standing in the community. There are no strikes or labor troubles among the mountain people, a notable contrast to the urban and industrial areas. Many family difficulties arise from a miscarriage of justice or from the lack of law enforcement. People who live in isolated areas, removed from the courts, carry out justice according to their own ideas. When brought to court the offender is generally turned over to the kinsmen of the man he has injured. The family then takes the law in its own hands and settles the affair. This may start a feud. The lawyers in the county-seat towns add to the distrust of the courts on the part of the mountain man. The Highlander puts his attitude in this way: "Most folks are related here; t'ain't no use troublin' the law, the lawyer and judge are kin to their side." While the feud has largely disappeared from the mountain area, the feeling still exists that a man has a right to take the law in his own hands if he so wishes and, if need be, kill a man who deserved killing.

The Highlander has a wholesome respect for the United States Government in spite of tales to the contrary. The area has given recruits in excess of quotas to the army and navy. There was no understanding of the causes of the last war or for whom they were fighting, except that it was for Uncle Sam. The army officers found the Highlander a hard man to discipline but a very good soldier. He would leave camp to go home merely because he was lonesome or homesick. The Highlander himself has no use for a deserter but he does not wish his freedom restrained in any way. Most Highland men are fond of firearms and expert in their use. They will spend hours cleaning a gun and talking with a neighbor about the superiority of the new guns compared with those of the generation before.³¹

³¹ Cobb, A. C., *Kinsfolks*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1922.

The facts reviewed above indicate an agrarian population with a high degree of homogeneity. The birth rate is relatively high and the death rate is low, as is the case in other rural agrarian areas. The excess population had been migrating slowly to the lowlands until the depression, but now is augmenting the homes and nearby farms. The population is native born and uniform in race and color. Marriage takes place at an early age. These families are highly immobile and intensely familialistic. They are not a strictly closed group, but admission to membership is difficult. They are wedded to the land and present highly cohesive collectivities. Social metabolism is slow. A large percentage of the farm children tend to become apprentices and then owners. Seventy-two percent of the families are owners and 28 percent are squatters, tenants, or croppers. The school education of operators, wives, and children is slight. The families are law-abiding groups. There appears to be no essential social difference between owners and tenants. These isolated mountaineers do not tend to undergo rapid social changes, as people do elsewhere in the United States. New influences are at work, but up to now these families have maintained a stable family organization.

CHAPTER X

Means and Methods of Living

The approximate land area of the county is 373,120 acres and of this 66.9 percent is in farms. The farms of the families studied averaged 192 acres compared with 77 acres for the township and 105 acres for the county as a whole. The actual acreage cultivated average 37 for the tenants and 54 for the owners or 45 7 for both. Much of the acreage is in woodlands and lands not in cultivation. Of all land in farms 23.8 percent was in crops for the families studied compared with the 29 percent for all Izard County and for Horseneck township alone. Open pasture land comprised 7.2 percent of the holdings contrasted with 14.8 percent for all Izard County. Woodlands formed the remainder (69 percent of all holdings for the 50 families). The families thus cultivated a very small portion of rather large farms.

There is no apparent tendency to give up the smaller family farm units and to carry on farming in larger units for large scale production. The farms studied average larger in surface area than in the U. S. as a whole. There is an abundance of woodland for future cropping (69 percent of the acreage) and future pastures. The present amount of crop land (23.8 percent of the acreage) is limited by the physical characteristics of the farm and also by the policy of growing crops without adequate rotation or fertilization. For the past the depleted lands which resulted from this policy were replaced by land from the woodlands. The characteristic land cycle is something like the following: clearing new land from woodland; cropping, pasturing, then abandonment; reclearing, cropping, and then the cycle continues. The movement is slower for the families studied because larger acreage for cropping is available and the land is not so intensively cultivated as in other rural and mountain areas.

The cultivated land is poorly cropped and yields are small. The average from corn was 22.2 bushels per acre; cotton, .3 bales; oats, .49 tons; hay, .52 tons; sorghum, 15.7 gallons; potatoes, 31 bushels. The crop value per acre (1932) for corn was \$20; cotton, \$15; oats, \$6; sorghum, \$6; potatoes, \$25.

The operators do not crop sufficient land to keep them busy. They cultivate just enough to get their own subsistence and pay the interest on debts. The yield per acre indicates either that the actual crop acreage embraces land unfit for cultivation, or that the Highlander farms poorly. Both explanations are probably true.

The amount of land in pastures is small, in spite of the fact that good pasture land can be obtained and could be maintained on land too rough and too steep for plowing. Most pastures are worn-out fields, which have been exhausted by cropping and erosion. Many are overgrown with weeds and underbrush. Under-grazing and lackadaisical farming are the chief causes of this condition. The Highlander does little to care for his pasture since he figures he has much more land than he needs. Except during very dry spells the pastures have abundant water from springs, streams, and brooks. Most of them are enclosed by a strand or two of barbed wire or brush fences. All the fences are in poor condition. The pasture land is seldom put into crops and rotation pastures are unknown. None of the methods of pasturage improvement, such as fertilizing, plowing, discing, or seeding, are utilized.

The major portion of the woodlands is cut-over land on which is new growth or remnants of original growth. In many cases the land and the remaining timber are regarded as liabilities by the operator. The Highlander looks upon his land solely as future cropping land and as a private domain which he can call his own. Some of the timber is sold for railroad ties but the volume of sales is small. Farm wood lots have not been used as sources of income for the past few years. Decades of irregular cutting have slowly depleted the area of large timber. These woodland areas undoubtedly need to be more wisely and efficiently utilized in the

future interests of the Highlander and of the nation as a whole.

In many instances a still further reduction of the total acreage owned would improve the economic position of the operator. Crop land in the area should be confined to land adapted to that purpose. Long-lay pastures should be developed on the slopes, and steep hill-sides should be allowed to return to woodlands. There is much more land than the large families of the Highland actually need for subsistence now or will need for future use. A great deal of it could be returned to woodland and the economic condition of the family would not be greatly affected by such reductions in acreage. These Highland farmers show no intention of reducing their acreage; but rather, as soon as their resources permit, of purchasing more land.

The Highlander lives in a region far removed from the centers of highly commercialized agriculture. An examination of the acreage and production of the major agricultural and livestock products shows that the area of the study is almost wholly outside of the important cash-crop regions of America. The products of these Ozark farms are consumed almost wholly at home. The important fact is that these families are not commercial competitors of American agriculture. They belong to the non-commercialized farming class.

Cotton is the chief cash crop and there are more acres in cotton than in any other, notwithstanding the fact that the area is considerably removed from the area of commercial production of this crop.

Of the families studied 72 percent were owners and 28 percent tenants or share croppers. Full owners were 37.5 percent and part owners 34.5 percent.

The distribution of property was widespread. No indications of trends toward a "landless proletarian rural class" are apparent.

HOMES AND HOUSING

Most of the farms had grounds ranging in size from one-third to one-half an acre, the owners having the larger. Forty percent of

both owner and tenant homes had some kind of shrubbery or other decoration in the yard.

No other dwelling would fit into the coves and wooded hills of the mountain country as well, as does the log cabin, of which there are still quite a few standing.¹ The log cabins were built for service, though there is a real beauty in the lines of the roof and in the rustic appearance of the house against the skyline. The log cabin remains a symbol of the pioneer life which shaped America and still exists, in all its simplicity and beauty, in the mountain area. All mountain homes, however, are not cabins. In late years small box houses, hastily constructed of rough lumber, have taken the place of the log cabin. The average house has been standing twenty-seven years and in 1932 was valued at \$262.

Most houses are built on piers of bricks or flat stones without continuous foundation walls. The newer houses are built of rough-sawn, unpainted vertical boards battened with clay. The roof of the house is generally made of "shakes" or clapboards, which are from two to three times larger than the ordinary shingle and about twice as thick. These shingles are held in place by pegs and short nails. Most houses had a porch extending across the front. Only one house was screened.

The Highland sample has few of the so-called modern conveniences when compared with other rural areas.² The contrast would without doubt be much greater if urban areas were compared. The families are without the material comforts of modern conveniences, such as running water, bathrooms, indoor toilet,

¹ Cobb, A. C., *Kinfolks*; Boston, 1922; see also French, Alice, *Knitters in the Sun*, Boston, 1898; Hughes, Marion, *Three Years in Arkansas*, Chicago, 1903; and Hibler, C. H., *Down in Arkansas*, New York, 1902.

² McCormick, T. C., *Farm Standards of Living in Faulkner County, Arkansas*, p. 12, University of Arkansas Bulletin, Fayetteville, Ark., 1932; Oyler, Merton, *Cost of Living and Population Trends in Laurel County, Kentucky*, University of Kentucky, Bulletin 301, Lexington, 1930; Turner, Howard, A., *Condition of Farmers in a White-Farmer Area of the Cotton Piedmont*, p. 43, Bulletin 78, U. S. Dept. of Agr., Sept. 1929. Muse, M., *The Standard of Living on Specific Owner-Operated Vermont Farms*, p. 15, Bulletin 340, University of Vermont, June, 1932. Taylor, Carl C. and Zimmerman, C. C., *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers*, N. C. Tenancy Commission, Raleigh, 1923.

electric lights, irons, vacuum cleaners, telephones, or washing machines. Fifty-eight percent of the families had out-door toilets; the others had none. Three times as large a proportion of owners had toilets as tenants. In many cases even an outdoor privy was regarded by the Highlander as "puttin' on airs." Half of the families had foot power sewing machines.

The average number of rooms used per family was 3.8, which was the same for the owners and tenants. Each 100 homes had 140 bedrooms for the use of 570 persons. The average number of rooms per 100 persons was 68. If we compare the average number of rooms used per family in the sample and the average number of rooms per person with those of other areas in the United States we find our sample has a larger number of persons per room and a smaller number of rooms per family. At first sight these figures show room overcrowding, according to urban standards. Such overcrowding does not seem to trouble the Highlander and does not seem to affect his health appreciably. The Highlander refuses to enlarge the house or to build another. These figures need intimate knowledge of the Highland man and his mode of living for their interpretation. The major portion of the time of these people is spent out-of-doors. They do not use indoor space as much as other rural or urban groups.³ Their mores permit the use of indoor rooms by several members of the family without any of the customary "moral difficulties" found in urban areas. A guest, when not a stranger, is allowed to occupy the same room with women and married couples without stigma. The Highlanders' conception of privacy is considerably different from that of urban families.

Room partitioning consists of rough, unpainted boards. Only about 10 percent of the houses are completely walled and ceiled on the inside. Most of the dwellings, both the box houses and log cabins, have a central hall running lengthwise in the middle of the structure and extending from the front porch to a back entrance.

³ U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Minimum Quantity Budget Necessary to Maintain a Worker's Family of Five in Health and Decency," *Monthly Labor Review* 10 (1920) : 1307-1324.

This permits plenty of air to circulate in hot summer days, as does the open foundation. Most Highland homes have at least two porches. The construction may suggest that most of the homes are uncomfortable. Quite the contrary is the case; only in severe weather does one find them uncomfortable.

The stranger in the hills is usually struck by the untidiness of the home and his immediate conclusion is that the mountain woman is a poor housekeeper. The main trouble is in the construction of the home itself, for the box house and the cabin are so built as to make the job of cleaning the cabin or house almost impossible.

Fireplaces and wood stoves are the only means of heating and cooking; 28 percent of the families use fireplaces only. Kerosene lamps are used in all homes. A large fireplace is located at one end of the house. Sometimes there is one at each end. Nearly all the fireplaces in both the box house and log cabins are built of selected limestone slabs, as the mud chimneys of other sections of the south are not favored by the Highlander. The fireplace provides heat as well as light in the winter. In the summer the Highlander needs no light as he goes to bed at dusk.

The most important piece of furniture which greets the eye is the bed. This is usually rope with a "feather tick" filled with corn husks. Several high back chairs with "split hickory" bottoms, a rude table and a shelf or two for the water bucket and provisions, a rough mantelpiece of "fire-board," several wooden pegs upon which to hang clothing, two forked sticks for the family rifle, and the simple furnishings of the Highland home are complete.⁴ No radios were found, but the fifty families had two pianos, an organ, one phonograph, and ten violins.

Automobiles were owned by twenty-two of the fifty families, but only three were in operation during the year.

WORK AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Eleven kinds of farm labor were carried on by the Highlander and his family. Four of these tasks the operator does not consider

⁴ Vance, Randolph, *The Ozarks*, New York, 1931, Ch. 2.

especially his own; milking, feeding cows, care of the poultry, and care of the garden. The wife is chiefly responsible for these chores and assists in the others. The children regularly share in milking, in the care of the cattle and horses, and in work in the gardens and in the fields. There is real sharing of the labor here among the members of the family. The women assume their share of the work as part of their responsibilities as members of the household. The men and boys do the plowing, but the women and older children are expected to hoe the cotton and help in the light tasks of the fields.

The regular household duties are carried on by the women of the family. The women begin work at 4 A.M. in the summer and 5 A.M. in the winter. The operator begins outside work about an hour later. Both the operator and his wife generally stop work at eight in the summer and seven in the winter. These Highland women are active partners in the farming enterprise and work under the same social, psychical, and physical conditions as their husbands.

The average distance of all farm families from the nearest hamlet visited (Horseneck) was 2.9 miles. The range was from half a mile to 11 miles. Horseneck was visited most frequently. Thirty-six percent of the families went to town monthly, 32 percent bi-monthly, and 32 percent weekly. Most buying was done at Horseneck or other nearby hamlets. The average distance traveled to purchase groceries was 3.33 miles, clothing 2.8 miles, and furniture 3 miles. These families confined their buying to the small hamlets and rarely visited the large towns.

The same situation exists in the sale of produce. Horseneck served also as a market-place and a distributing center.

Little banking is done by these families. When the families made use of banking facilities, they did so at Melbourne.

The average distance from the railroad was 8.1 miles. Few families had occasion to use the railroad for transportation of any sort. Some of the families had not seen a train for years.

The average distance from the fifty homes to places where

doctor and hospital service was obtainable was 6.1 miles, to the high school 2.8 miles, and to the church or Sunday School, 2.5 miles.

The average distance which the Ozark Highlander travels to carry on the social and economic functions of his family is about the same as the distance traveled in other Highland areas, but the roads in the Ozark region are poorer than those in many other regions.

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In no other group of Christians does one find a deeper and more sincere interest in religion than among these Ozark Highlanders. The non-believers are so exceptional as to be the object of much concern to the native. Even the "bad man" of the community believes in God and has a concrete set of rules and principles concerning life and salvation. He is interested in the church and, so far as he can, he attends its services. The Highlander feels a real responsibility for his neighbors and their religious life. No one can attend a religious meeting in the hills and listen to the fervent prayers of old and young for the conversion of their neighbors, and feel that the Highlander is not interested in the "salvation of his neighbor."⁵

Preaching services are held in many Highland communities but once a month. In other sections the circuit rider makes but a yearly visit, at which time a protracted meeting of a week or ten days gives the Highlander his religion for the year. Preaching is simple and direct. The preacher frankly states the "evils" which exist. The Highlander delights in theological debate and, like his Calvanistic ancestors, enjoys discussing fore-ordination, election, free will, immersion, and similar topics. He has a remarkable knowledge of the Bible, particularly the Old Testament. Even the illiterate man has a real appreciation of the language and of the insight into human nature expressed in its pages.

⁵ Wilson, S. T., *The Southern Mountaineers*, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, New York, 1914; and Hogue, Wyman, *Back Yonder*, Ch. 10, New York, 1932.

It is commonly believed that the mountain man is "stolid." What passes for stolidity is really a self-protective attitude, a frame of mind which places him on guard against "furriners." He is as emotional as the members of any other group and easily led and swayed by those in whom he has confidence. The "holy roller" preachers and their influence over the mountain man illustrate this excellently.

Most mountain people expect to be converted through some outward manifestation or emotional upheaval. Visions, dreams, and omens are a part of the religious basis of the normal conversion. This is especially true of older people.

Most of the mountain preachers are older men of very limited education. They have received a divine call themselves and are highly respected by the people. In function they are prophets rather than priests. They often serve without pay and board around among the people. They have a keen insight into human nature, and with dramatic ability and power sway the hearts of their audiences. The realistic way in which the old parson of the Highlands tells Bible stories is not quickly forgotten. The genuine humanity of these men is often at bottom quite different from the rugged theology which they preach.

At times their sermons are disconnected and unrelated texts delivered in a sing-song which often becomes shouting. The preacher strides to and fro in front of his audience appealing individually and collectively to his listeners to get religion. The effect of this preaching upon the Highlander is great. Often their emotions are aroused to such a pitch as to cause the individual to lose complete control of himself. The protracted⁶ or "revival"

⁶ The annual protracted meeting was an establishment by which the time of other events was reckoned, and is still reckoned so in many places. Things happened three weeks or a month after the "big meetin'." The meetings were usually held in August, during a period of comparative leisure after the crops were "laid by." They continued for one or two weeks, and consisted of a service each forenoon, and one at "early light" in the evening. In these meetings the pastor, if we are to indicate by that term the pioneer preacher in his once-a-month visit, was assisted by one or two visiting preachers who did the preaching. During the meeting the pastor went to see the people, the only opportunity he had during the year to visit the homes of his people. From these meetings came all the converts and church members. *Baptist Missions in the South*, Baptist Home Mission Board, Southern Convention, pp. 24-25, 1915.

meetings as they are called, are the most emotional of all the Highland religious services.

This emotional appeal is developed to its greatest height by the singing of hymns. In most places the old hymns and hymn tunes are still used.

The people like to sing, and the men and women who sing well are always in demand. Singing plays an important part in the social and religious life. The old songs and ballads have been superseded somewhat by the jazz of the day. The young have not shown as much interest in their folk songs as did the previous generations, and those of the older generation are sensitive to the ridicule of the outsider who makes fun of Highland songs and folklore. The older generation seldom divulge their recollections. While it is difficult to secure much information, the careful investigator, with a little patience and tact, can reap a harvest of song and folklore.

Many of the oldest folk songs came from England with the 17th century tide of immigration.⁷ Some were indigenous in the mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee.⁸ These are folksongs in the real sense of the term and all trace of their origins have been lost. With the exception of the religious songs and some of those of the play party the entire list of folk songs were solos.⁹

Many of the songs enjoyed by Samuel Pepys in 1666 are still to be heard among these people. "Barbara Allen" and the ballad of "The Jews Garden" are still sung.¹⁰ The ballad singer or leader is a very highly respected individual. There are many types and each has his own technique. To him singing is a serious matter. There is a singular "affectation" or self-consciousness about the performance of ballads. The leader insists that the song must be sung right; by that he means that the words and melodies must be authentic—that is, what he regards as authentic. Most of the

⁷ Krapp, G. P., *The English Language in America*, Boston, 1925, pp. 225 ff.

⁸ Randolph, Vance, *The Ozarks*, New York, 1931, p. 173; and Campbell and Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, New York, 1917.

⁹ Hogue, Wyman, *Back Yonder*, New York, 1932, Ch. 20.

¹⁰ Allsop, Fred, *Folklore in Romantic Arkansas*, Vol. I, Grolier Society, Kansas City, 1931; and Botkin, B. A., "Folk Speech in the Kentucky Mountain Cycle of Percy MacKaye," *American Speech*, reprint, 1931.

ballad singers use a violin, though some use no musical instrument.

There are not many cheerful tunes. The Highlander likes themes of "death, murder, cruel parents, jealous lovers, etc." (drama). The chief charm which these songs hold for the sophisticated auditor lies in their unconscious humor and in a certain naïve crudity which is a welcome contrast to the labored realism of much of our modern writing. Some of the more usual songs heard are "The Turkey Shavaree," "The Golden Vanity," "The Three Little Babes," from "Labor Gay" (which was quoted by Beaumont and Fletcher in a play produced in London in 1611) and the "Cuckoo" or "The Unconstant Lover" which is a well known English ballad.¹¹ The Jesse James Ballads are well-known and well-liked.¹²

The negro ballads of the lowlands are not common. Few negroes were brought to the Ozarks before the Civil War and the contact between the Highlander and the southern Negro has been slight. The religious hymns of the Highlanders are a part of their culture and their folklore. The music of the hymns is printed in shaped notes which the singer reads from their peculiar shape rather than from their place on the staff. In some communities the words are "lined out" by a song leader.

The hymns most popular among the people studied are "The Old Rugged Cross," "Golden Bells," "Face to Face," "Mother's Prayers," "Revive Us Again," "My Latest Sun is Sinking Fast," "Just Over the River," "Rock of Ages," "Lead Kindly Light," "Let There Be Light."

Collective religious enterprises are few in number and exceedingly informal. The chief and only organizations of importance for the Highlander are the church and the Sunday School. Attendance at church usually means also attendance at Sunday School. Of the families studied 70 percent belonged to the church. While more owners than tenants belonged to the church, they attended more irregularly. In the owners' families the average

¹¹ Randolph, Vance, *The Ozarks*, New York, 1931, pp. 187-195.

¹² Jesse James was a Missouri post-civil-war guerilla now elevated by tradition to a semi-Robin Hood rôle.

number belonging to the church was 3.4 persons. Among the tenants the number holding church membership is smaller than in the owners' families (58.8 as compared with 41.1). Other organizations were confined largely to 4-H clubs, although one man belonged to the Woodmen of the World for "insurance purposes only," as he explained.

Few Highland families engage in activities of the kind called recreational in urban and lowland areas.¹³ Two families attended a dance and two a movie during the year. Thirty attended social meetings, such as community "sings," where ballads and religious songs are sung. Thirteen families attended church gatherings of a social nature (clubs and group games). There were a few special events, such as "hawg killins," "fox hunts," "celebratin," and others of a social and recreational nature. "Organized" play groups are strongly opposed. The old folks hold "sich goins on" as works of the devil. On the other hand, they love to dance and sing together, which is their brand of organized play. Any one fortunate enough to be invited to a sing or play festival in the hills will enjoy an unusually interesting and pleasurable evening.

The Highlander, with very few organizations, has a larger percentage of his family as members of these organizations. The families represented in this study are much nearer the "cumulative" community type than the "functional" or "differentiated" types.¹⁴

Four tenants and twenty-seven owner families were subscribers to some sort of periodical. Other newspapers were secured on

¹³ See the following monographs: Melvin, Bruce, *The Sociology of a Village*, Bulletin 523, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, May, 1931; Bakum, G. A., *Social Relationships of Slaterville Springs*, Bulletin 501, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, March, 1930; Dennis, M. V., *Social Activities of the Families in the Unionville District*, Bulletin 286, Penn State College, State College, Pa., April, 1933.

¹⁴ For a complete discussion of "cumulative and functional associations," see Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, Ch. 6, Univ. of Minn. Press, St. Paul, 1932. Also see discussions of early American "cumulative" villages, such as "Quaker Hill," "The Hoosier Village," and others by Wilson, Sims, Williams, etc. See also Kirkpatrick, E. L., *Rural Standards of Living in Dane and Green Counties*, p. 7, Bulletin 106, University of Wisc., Madison, Jan., 1931, and McCormick, T. C., *Rural Standards of Living in Faulkner County, Arkansas*, p. 9, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark., October, 1932.

trip to town when the family took produce to the market. Two owner families subscribed to church papers and two to farm papers. Regular monthly magazines were taken by two families. The families are little interested in news except as they relate to the township or the county. Books were found in all homes, but were few in number. Every home had a Bible and some had a few school books in addition.

From the foregoing facts we see that the families used much less reading material than those of other rural areas.¹⁵ Their meagre contact with urban ideas through reading is an important contributing factor in the psycho-social isolation of the Highland people. It is not an unusual thing to find these people speaking of events which happened ten or fifteen years ago as if they had happened only yesterday. Their contact with the outside world through news is slight, but it is much greater than is ordinarily imagined. They have missed some events of importance, but ideas that appeal spread rapidly. Gossip and conversation are the chief media of expression. As news of the changing world is part of the recreational gossip, it becomes highly personal, novel, and of special significance to the Highland man.

FAMILY LIVING

a. Income

The net spendable yearly income of these farm families for 1932 averaged \$327 for the owners and \$224 for the tenants. For all families the average was \$298. Of these amounts the cash income was \$116 for the owners and \$50 for the tenants. For all fifty families the amount was \$98. The spendable income consists of money and bartered goods. Cash costs of doing business in this system of living are nil. A little is spent for taxes, instruments, etc., but most of the money is for living. The Highlander

¹⁵ See the following: Von Tungeln, G. H., *Cost of Living on Iowa Farms*, Bulletin 237, Iowa State College, Ames, Nov., 1928; Kirkpatrick, E. L., *Rural Organization and the Farm Family*, Bulletin 96, Univ. of Wisc., Madison, Nov., 1929. McCormick, T. C., *Farm Living Standards Faulkner County Arkansas*, Bulletin 279, Univ. of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark., Oct., 1932.

makes his own tools. The total economic income includes the value of the food and fuel furnished by the farms and 20 percent of an assumed housing reproduction value for rent. The 20 percent rate was chosen arbitrarily because the values are low. The local values are low and, as the houses are made of local crude materials, the rental figures were never high.

The following table compares these figures for Izard county with a few other rural areas in the U. S.

TABLE SHOWING COMPARISON OF THE NET ECONOMIC AND NET CASH INCOME OF THE OZARK SAMPLE AND OTHER AREAS*

Area	Year	Net Economic Income †	Net Spendable Cash Income
Izard County	1932	558.00	98.00
Vermont	1933	2143.00	1095.00
Dane County, Wisc.	1931	2726.00	1184.00
Minnesota (villages and towns) ..	1927	2473.00	2473.00
Faulkner Co., Ark.	1924	1293.00	719.00
Iowa	1923	1680.00	981.00
Mass.	1924	1948.00	1245.00
Mason Co., Ky.	1923	1614.00	957.00
New Hampshire	1924	1838.00	1208.00
Del. Co., Ohio	1923	1554.00	909.00

These comparisons, like others for income and values, are very rough. Methods differed among the studies. The differences, however, are so marked that errors, the years of record, and variations in computation, cannot be important. They show that the system of living in the Ozarks is certainly not one of high economic cost as compared with the other rural areas in the United States, particularly those of the lowland commercial farmers.

The range of economic income (money and value of furnished items) was from \$271 to \$954. Values are all at local amounts. The products furnished to the farm were valued at the average

* See the following works for figures used: Clayton, C. F., *Land Utilisation as a Basis of Rural Economic Organisation*, Bulletin 357, Univ. of Vermont, June, 1933; Kirkpatrick, E. L., *The Farmer's Standard of Living*, Bulletin 1466, U. S. Dept. of Agric., Wash., D. C., Nov., 1926; Zimmerman, C. C. *Income and Expenditures of Village and Town Families in Minnesota*, Bulletin 253, Univ. of Minn., March, 1929; McCormick, T. C., *Farm Standards of Living in Faulkner Co., Ark.*, Bulletin 279, Univ. of Ark., Fayetteville, Oct., 1932. Muse, Marianne, *The Standards of Living of Specific Okner-Operated Vermont Farms*, Bulletin 249, Univ. of Vermont, June, 1932.

† Net spendable income plus farm contributions for food, fuel, and rent.

store prices. Most of the families were close to the lowest figure as indicated by the lowest economic income of \$271 in contrast with the average of \$558. The curve of income was biased toward the lower group.¹⁶ A factor of importance was that each family furnished 50 percent or more of the food used from its own farm. The average of 79 percent of all food expense was thus attained. Twenty-one of the families (42 percent) furnished as much as 80 to 90 percent of their food.¹⁷

If we compare the total values used for living among the Highland families with those of families in other farming areas,¹⁸ we discover that the Highland area has a smaller total and furnishes directly a larger percentage of this than other rural areas.

TABLE SHOWING COMPARISON OF TOTAL VALUE OF LIVING IN THE OZARK SAMPLE AND IN OTHER SELECTED FARM AREAS

Area	Year	No. of Families	Total Expend.	Percent Furnished
Izard Co.	1932	50	558.00	56.1
Iowa	1923	451	1680.00	41.6
Missouri	1923	178	1897.00	43.9
Livingston, N. Y.	1921	402	2012.00	36.2
Del. Co., Ohio	1923	367	1554.00	41.5
Mason Co., Ky.	1923	360	1614.00	40.7
Texas	1919	278	1507.00	33.9
Tennessee	1920	246	1235.00	40.9
Connecticut	1923	110	1493.00	35.8
Kansas	1923	406	1492.00	40.5
Alabama	1923	181	1583.00	49.3

This is essentially a subsistence or sustenance type of living largely of a non-commercial character. It must be judged partly at least on the basis of other standards than those of the money income or purchased living.

b. Food

The Ozark families studied used \$336 or 60.6 percent of their total economic income for food as contrasted with much smaller

¹⁶ By economic income we mean that combined figure which is secured when cash expenditures for living are added to the values of goods produced at home or secured by barter without money.

¹⁷ See also the U. S. Census reports for Izard County, 1930.

¹⁸ Von Tungeln, G. H., et al, *Cost of Living on Iowa Farms*, Bulletin 237, p. 48, Iowa State College, Ames, November, 1928.

percentages and greater amounts in other areas of the United States. Part of the difference is due to smaller cash expenditures for food in the Ozarks. This means not only lower prices but also a smaller range of goods consumed. However, the Ozark families were well fed from their own nutritional point of view. Diets were free in the sense that each individual chose from fats, proteins, and carbohydrates to suit his taste.

From the Engelian point of view these families lived on a lower level than any other American farm families, except possibly the Alabama tenants (nearly all negroes). From the Le Play point of view this is not true. The contrast in the results reached by the methods shows the inadequacy of judging the families by one method alone.

**A COMPARISON OF VALUES FOR FOOD IN THE OZARKS AND
OTHER RURAL AREAS**

Area	Amount Used for Food	Percent of Total Economic Income
Izard Co. (Owners and Tenants)	\$336.00	60.6
Iowa (Owners)	651.00	34.7
Iowa (Tenants)	600.00	39.8
Livingston Co., N. Y. (Owners)	778.00	39.2
Livingston Co., N. Y. (Tenants)	839.00	40.0
Missouri (Owners)	713.00	37.7
Missouri (Tenants)	769.00	40.1
Kentucky (Owners)	621.00	34.5
Kentucky (Tenants)	556.00	43.3
Alabama (Owners)	785.00	46.3
Alabama (Tenants)	639.00	58.4
Ohio (Owners)	576.00	36.3
Ohio (Tenants)	564.00	39.0
Texas (Owners)	750.00	41.5
Texas (Tenants)	631.00	47.4
Tennessee (Owners)	489.00	36.9
Tennessee (Tenants)	435.00	48.5
Conn. (Owners)	692.00	45.4
Conn. (Tenants)	601.00	47.3
Kansas (Owners)	654.00	40.3
Kansas (Tenants)	592.00	45.7

Nearly all the cooking is done in pots or kettles over the open fire. Cornbread is the chief bread product and is generally made in heavy kettles known as "Dutch Ovens." Sometimes this is soaked in grease and baked slowly—a bread known as "johnny-cake." In the winter the chief staple is "craklin" bread, a cornbread seasoned

with pork tissue ground after fat has been rendered from it. Wheat or "light bread" is sometimes served, especially when visitors are present. Hominy made from corn, first soaked in lye and then cooked, is a favorite dish. The lye is generally made from wood ashes. It is also used for making soap. Many of the homes have neither butter nor milk, though both can be secured cheaply from their own cattle. What butter they do have is generally rancid. Sour milk is generally preferred to sweet.¹⁹

The Highlanders do not care for fresh vegetables and rarely eat raw fruit. Fruits are consumed as pies, cobblers, and "sass." There is of course no way to keep fruit or foods, although abundant springs furnish ideal sites over which to construct storage places.

Except for some fresh fish and game the chief meat is pork. They do not care for beef or mutton even when they have it. Meat means either bacon or salt pork, and if one means other meats these must be specified by name. "Hawg killin's" are still social events.²⁰ The families and neighbors gather on a certain day on the bank of a nearby stream and build a great fire of logs in which they heat large stones. These are used to heat water, the steam being diverted into a large pit where the hogs are scalded, thus loosening the bristles from the skin. Everyone helps to scrape the hogs and then these are cut up by the best butchers in the community. At noon the women provide a big dinner, with fresh pork of every description. There is enough whiskey to go around. In the evening another large "feed" is cooked followed by a dance and a play party. The average family kills from twelve to fifteen hogs for the winter's supply of meat. The meat is packed away for several weeks in salt and then hung to be cured in the smoke-house. Sausage is usually put up in cornshucks and also hung in the smoke-house.

Many Highlanders are fond of "greens" and "wild sallet," the leaves of pokeweed, thistle, wild lettuce, dandelion, mustard,

¹⁹ The use of sour milk is often justified physiologically because it is claimed to break down tuberculosis nodules more efficiently than sweet milk.

²⁰ Kephart, H., *Our Southern Highlanders*, New York, 1926, p. 37; and Rayburn, E. O., *Ozark Folkways*, Vol. XXXV, August, 1930.

MEANS AND METHODS OF LIVING

and several other varieties being the most important. These are boiled with bacon-rind and served with onions and vinegar. There are some sugar maples left but the natives do not now make maple sugar. Some of the families have bee hives. Most of the families grow a little cane for "lasses-makin'." The juice from the cane is boiled down and is the standard long "sweetenin'" of the Highlander's table. Granulated sugar is regarded as a luxury. Fruit is preserved by drying slices on an old quilt spread on the roof.

The Highlander of today eats much the same food as did his pioneer forefathers, and prepares it in much the same way. Small fruits and vegetables are canned. Preserves are made from water-melon rind and from the prickly pear. Both turnip and cabbage kraut are put up in large quantities.²¹

c. Clothing

Owners spent \$84 on the average for the year's clothing as against \$58 for the tenants and \$77 for all families. The average owner family spent \$10 for clothing materials while the tenants spent only \$8. These materials were made up in the homes. Nine-tenths of all the owner families made clothing. Dresses, under-clothing, and infant clothing were the chief articles made at home. The following comparisons show the low cash clothing expenditures per family in the Ozarks compared with other rural districts in the United States.

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR CLOTHING IN THE OZARK SAMPLE AND IN
SEVERAL OTHER RURAL AREAS IN THE U. S.

Area	Expense for Clothing per Family	Percent of Total Economic Income for Clothing
Ozark Sample (Owners and Tenants)	\$77.00	31.00
Iowa Areas (Owners only).....	283.00	15.00
Livingston, N. Y. (Owners only)....	273.00	14.00
Missouri Areas (Owners only).....	267.00	14.00
Mason Co., Ky. (Owners only)....	263.00	15.00
Alabama Areas (Owners only).....	237.00	14.00
Del. Co., Ohio (Owners only).....	241.00	15.00
Texas Areas (Owners only).....	381.00	21.00
Tennessee Area (Owners only).....	232.00	18.00
Connecticut Area (Owners only)....	236.00	16.00
Kansas Area (Owners only)	223.00	14.00

²¹ Randolph, Vance, *The Ozarks*, New York, 1931, Ch. 2.

From the above analysis we see that the Ozark Highlanders spend proportionately more for clothing than most other farm people but a considerably smaller total amount.

Clothing habits of the people have changed a great deal since the pioneer days. Very little spinning and weaving is now done in the hills; most of the clothing is purchased at the country store. The men and women usually wear overalls and a few pairs of shoes are purchased for Sunday and winter use. The women buy few dresses and stockings and almost confine their purchases to inexpensive cotton garments. It is considered immodest and immoral to dress like the "furriners."

d. Health

Owners spent on an average of \$33 for health compared with \$29 for the tenants. The average for both was \$31. These services were paid chiefly by the exchange of goods.

A COMPARISON OF AVERAGE EXPENDITURES FOR HEALTH IN THE OZARKS AND IN OTHER RURAL AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES

Area	Expense for Health	Percent of Total Economic Income
Ozark Sample (Owners and Tenants) .	\$31.00	13.0
Iowa Areas (Owners only)	86.00	4.6
Livingston, N. Y. (Owners only)....	76.00	3.8
Missouri Area (Owners)	79.00	4.2
Mason Co., Ky. (Owners)	54.00	3.0
Alabama Area (Owners)	57.00	3.3
Del. Co., Ohio (Owners)	57.00	3.6
Texas Area (Owners)	69.00	3.8
Tennessee Area (Owners)	68.00	5.2
Connecticut Area (Owners)	47.00	3.1
Kansas Area (Owners)	79.00	4.9

We find the Ozark families spend much more proportionately for health services than any of the other areas studied. The chief reason is the low total income, of which he uses only an average of \$31 a year for medicine or health.

The large number of people living in the home raises some health problems. In the mountains we have more congestion within homes than congestion in the area. In spite of out-door

living this congestion leads to the spread of some contagious diseases.

The mountain man is not indifferent to the ills of the physical body which are the result of his living conditions. While he believes that they are ordained and therefore to be borne with whatever stoicism is at his command, he also calls the physician when he can afford it.

An offsetting factor in the attitude of many is the natural conservatism and the suspicion of strangers and new methods which are characteristics of all isolated peoples. When it happens, as it often does, that modern theories of disease interfere with the absolute freedom of action so dear to the Highlander's heart, it is to be expected that they will be viewed with suspicion, if not with actual hostility.²²

He has, moreover, certain time-honored remedies of his own. All inhabitants in the remote Highlands are familiar with the use of teas made from common herbs and roots, such as coneset, camomile, sassafras, and pennyroyal. Turpentine taken externally and internally, with other ingredients, is a favorite remedy. The prevalence of patent medicine advertisements in small isolated country stores suggest that, in some places at least, these products must be used to a considerable degree. The medicine wagon of early days if properly supervised would be a real help to the Highlander. There is not a little faith among many in the performance of prescribed rites under prescribed conditions to drive away certain ailments. There is generally in each neighborhood some older woman who is recognized as peculiarly gifted in the matter of charms.²³

When his own knowledge and the offices of those near at hand fail, the Highlander goes for a doctor, if there is one within reach; but usually it is not until the patient is "dangerous." His delay in seeking medical aid is due in large part to the great scarcity of physicians. This scarcity has existed from early days in the High-

²² Campbell, J. C., *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, p. 195, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1921, and Branson, C. E., *Farm Life Conditions in the South*, pp. 20 ff., State Normal School, Athens, Georgia, 1926.

²³ Kephart, Horace, *Our Southern Highlanders*, New York, 1926.

lands, but the unreliable character of some of the native doctors and the high charges made (\$15 to \$25 a visit is not uncommon) have doubtless been discouraging factors.

Much can be said for the native Highland physician. At best he leads a hard life, riding by day and night the rough trails that lead along creek and branch, and over mountains to isolated homes, with little reward save in the knowledge of duty well-performed. The criticism often heard, "He won't come unless he knows he can get his money," must be tempered by adding that he probably will not be paid and he may have to spend the whole day going ten or fifteen miles to see one patient.

After all is said, however, for the devoted men who serve their countryside to the best of their ability, it must be admitted that much of the more rural Highland region, when supplied at all with physicians, is served by men who have had little or poor training, sometimes none at all. Many of them are men of good common sense, who even with their limitations are useful. With proper leadership, co-operation, and some training they would be helpful in bettering conditions. But unfortunately, it is also true that the Highlands have proved a great retreat for so-called doctors who are morally and intellectually unfit to minister to the communities which they are supposed to serve. Some, once able physicians in other sections, have been forced from their original fields of service through addiction to drugs and drink and have settled in the isolated Highlands.

The effects of the incompetence of such men on the people are sometimes pathetic. Many instances might be cited, some of which have come under personal observation, of gross ignorance and criminal neglect, both in medical and surgical practice.

Throughout the Highlands, in general, indications point to a high mortality from diseases of the respiratory tract but the rate reported is lower than that in the total rural United States registration area. The Highland death rate is higher in the case of typhoid only. This is not surprising when one realizes that the disease is endemic in the mountains, that no sanitary measures are known for the prevention of infection of streams and drinking water, and

that the summer brings myriads of flies which swarm about unprotected food. It is especially prevalent in the autumn when springs and wells are low, sometimes as many as seven or eight in a family being stricken at one time.

Other communicable diseases affecting the mortality rate of the Highlands more or less seriously, but for which data were not available, are diphtheria, scarlet fever, and small pox. The first is perhaps the malady most dreaded by the Highlander, who considers it practically fatal. Scarlet fever, too, is greatly feared. Small pox, however, while present in some areas every year, is so little feared that Highland mothers have been known to expose their children deliberately in order that the malady might be taken early in life when its effects would be less marked. The isolation of the country does not, unhappily, prevent the inroads of such epidemics as infantile paralysis and influenza, which makes their appearance in the most remote homes.

Social diseases are found, but the experience of the doctors points towards their greater prevalence near urban centers or large sawmills and other rural industrial enterprises. Physicians who have had charge of Highland schools say that the boys are unusually free from infections of this nature.

The teeth usually need much attention, but the only thing done in the Highland area is to pull them out when they ache. There are but few dental offices. In the past they extracted teeth by means of a crude home-made tooth-puller wielded by some man who had obtained a reputation for skill along this or other "surgical" lines. As a result of this operation, the Highlander has been frequently deprived at an early age of these very necessary aids to his digestion. The first preparation made by one outside physician before he entered the Highland field was the purchase of forceps. He declared that he had pulled teeth indoors and out, on the porch and in the middle of the road, on foot and on horseback, and that no new place for this operation was likely to surprise or disturb him. Sore eyes are common among the children and in the most serious form has proved to be trachoma.

The county and state health authorities have of course sought

to improve the health conditions of the Highland area. There is much room for improvement and the health problem is without doubt the most pressing problem in the Highlands. The relief measures which are now applied are but a start in meeting the needs of the families. A number of churches and independent schools have for some years employed nurses who not only superintend the health of the country children, but also endeavor to serve as much of the neighborhood as possible. The success and continuance of these efforts depend largely upon the personality and ability of these Highland workers who have gained the confidence of the people and the county boards. Practically all efforts have been directed toward relief rather than prevention. The need today is not less but greater, and it should be accompanied by an extensive educational movement for public health among the children.²⁴

e. Sundries

The average amount spent for sundries by the owners was \$8 as compared with \$3 for the tenants. Since this included the private costs of schooling and of books, it is evident that Highland people spend little for other items.

TABLE SHOWING AVERAGE EXPENDITURES ON SUNDRIES FOR THE OZARK SAMPLE AND SEVERAL OTHER AREAS IN THE U. S.*

Area	Expense for Sundries	Percent of Total Economic Income
Ozark Sample (Owners and Tenants)	\$7.00	2.4
Iowa Area (Owners)	152.00	8.1
Missouri Area (Owners)	141.00	7.5
Mason Co., Ky. (Owners)	120.00	6.7
Alabama Area (Owners)	119.00	7.0
Del. Co., Ohio (Owners)	86.00	5.4
Texas Area (Owners)	113.00	6.2
Tenn. Area (Owners)	124.00	9.3
Conn. Area (Owners)	86.00	5.6
Kansas Area (Owners)	132.00	8.1

* Expenses for school, music, and newspapers are included.

²⁴ See the following works dealing with the subject: McBrager, L. D., and Dansill, T., "Health Project on Yon Side of the Mountain," *Hygeia*, Vol. IV, p. 7, Jan., 1926; and Wheeler, L. R., "The Intelligence of East Tennessee Mountain Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. XXIII, p. 351, May, 1932.

This comparison shows that the Highland sample spends smaller amounts and lower percentages of their income for sundries than that of other rural areas throughout the United States. These families find satisfaction for sundry wants within their family organizations, which are often sought outside in other family groups, both rural and urban.

f. Personal Items

The average owner spent \$1 for recreational and social purposes as contrasted with \$2 for the tenant and \$1.50 average for both. The large portion of this was spent for fishing and hunting materials. The tenant farmer pursued these sports more actively than the owner.

AVERAGE EXPENDITURES PER FAMILY FOR PERSONAL ITEMS IN THE OZARK SAMPLE COMPARED WITH OTHERS

Area	Expense for Personal Items	Percent of the Economic Income
Ozark Sample (Owners and Tenants)	\$1.50	.4
Iowa Areas (Owners)	28.00	1.5
Livingston Co., N. Y. (Owners)	23.00	1.2
Missouri Area (Owners)	65.00	3.4
Mason Co., Ky. (Owners)	39.00	2.1
Alabama Areas (Owners)	44.00	2.6
Del. Co., Ohio (Owners)	47.00	3.0
Texas Areas (Owners)	21.00	1.2
Tennessee Areas (Owners)	17.00	1.3
Connecticut Areas (Owners)	45.00	3.0
Kansas Areas (Owners)	46.00	2.3

g. Miscellaneous Items

Church expense and charities, such as the Red Cross and other non-familistic organizations, cost \$3 per family. Taxes cost owners \$11 and tenants \$3. Firewood was cut from nearby trees. About 25 gallons of kerosene was purchased by the average family during the year. House rent did not enter as a cash expenditure.

The amounts of money savings were relatively small in all cases. Savings, other than in the improvement of homes, generally meant insurance premiums or a few dollars of cash on hand. Few insurance policies were carried. Some money was saved and put

away or buried, as is the custom ; but little exact information could be secured on this subject. The average family was estimated to save \$7 per year, but that is only a reasonably moderate guess, supported by experience with Highland families and by apparently truthful statements from a number of families.

COMPARISON AND SUMMARY

By comparing these Ozark families with others, we find some striking contrasts.²⁵ The total economic income among the Highland sample is much less than among the other areas. In comparison with commercial farming and with industrial areas, this fact stands out in a striking manner.

While the area studied is more self-sufficing than other rural areas and the cost of living is very low, it must be recognized that the families studied have more members on the average in the household than in other rural and industrial areas.

These Ozark families spend less than those in other rural and urban areas. Their expenditures are chiefly for a part of their food, most of their clothing, and for a little medical treatment.

In other words this is a system of living unlike that found in the commercial areas of the United States and, as such, has its own values and defects. We are seeking to appraise the Highlander and to understand his system of living. In order to do this we must object strenuously, first of all, to two opposing sets of views regarding his system of living. One of these is that this is "marginal living" and must be eliminated by commercialization or reforestation. The other is the "back to nature" belief which says leave simple peoples alone.

To achieve our purpose we have picked a number of cases illustrative of the types of problems of living in the Highlands. The first is a family which is at the top of the economic ladder, as far as wealth goes. It is the richest family found. The second is the poorest, the one at the bottom of the ladder. The third is one that is known for its rowdyism, a typical fighting family of

²⁵ See table at end of this chapter.

trouble-makers found very frequently in districts such as these. The last is a case of extra-marital sexual intercourse. All these documents are arranged to show the nature of social controls in the Highlands and the manner in which the various families adapted their living in relation to the community and to their peculiar circumstances.

TABLE COMPARING THE OZARK SAMPLE AND SIX OTHER AREAS WITH REGARD TO THE VALUE OF ALL GOODS

Items	Clark Family Stock Farm Families— 1932		Faulkner Co., Ark., Moun- tain Area— 365 Families— 1924		Laurel Co., Ky., 203 Mountain Families— 1928		Southwestern Ohio, 300 Lowland Families— 1926		2,866 Families in 11 Lowland Areas— 1926		150 Families in Dane Co., Wisc. (1)		212 Iowa Families (2)		
	Purchased	Furnished	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	
All Goods.....	Total	\$558.00	100	\$1,095.00	100	\$689.00	100	\$933.00	100	\$1,588.00	100	\$1,629.00	100	\$1,875.00	100
	Furnished	313.00	56.1	583.00	53.7	365.00	52.9	401.00	43.0	684.00	42.8	490.00	30.1	756.00	40.3
Food.....	Total	245.00	43.9	502.00	46.3	324.00	47.1	532.00	57.0	914.00	57.2	1,139.00	69.9	1,119.00	59.7
	Furnished	336.00	60.6	567.00	52.3	422.00	61.2	457.00	49.0	659.00	41.2	516.00	31.7	650.00	34.7
Personal Goods.....	Total	71.00	12.8	134.00	23.6	114.00	16.6	135.00	14.5	218.00	13.6	339.00	20.8	235.00	12.6
	Furnished	76.00	13.7	135.00	12.4	94.00	13.6	156.00	16.7	235.00	14.7	244.00	15.0	283.00	15.1
Clothing.....	Total	.....	.....	1.00	.....	.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Furnished	76.00	13.7	135.00	12.4	93.00	13.5	156.00	16.7	235.00	14.7	244.00	15.0	283.00	15.1
Furnishings.....	Total	1.80	.3	43.00	4.0	15.00	2.1	31.00	3.3	40.00	2.5	67.00	4.1	37.00	2.0
	Furnished	32.00	5.8	42.00	3.9	16.00	2.3	31.00	3.3	61.00	3.8	31.00	1.9	86.00	4.6
Health.....	Total	12.00	2.2	22.00	2.0	30.00	4.4	46.00	4.9	105.00	6.6	108.00	6.6	152.00	8.1
	Furnished	18.00	3.4	22.00	2.0	18.00	2.6	29.00	3.1	41.00	2.6	52.00	3.2	28.00	1.5
Sundries.....	Total	18.00	3.4	22.00	2.0	17.00	2.5	29.00	3.1	41.00	2.6	52.00	3.2	28.00	1.5
	Furnished	7.00	1.3	15.00	1.4	3.00	.5	13.00	1.4	41.00	2.6	4	.....	70.00	3.8
Operation Goods.....	Total	10.00	1.7	37.00	3.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Furnished	36.00	6.5	.....	.....	47.00	6.8	98.00	10.5	213.00	13.3	211.00	12.9	262.00	14.0
Realt.....	Total	21.00	3.7	.....	.....	11.00	1.6	12.00	1.3	43.00	2.7	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Furnished	15.00	2.8	108.00	10.00	44.00	5.2	86.00	9.2	170.00	10.6	211.00	12.9	262.00	14.0
Size of the Household.....	Total	26.00	4.7	108.00	10.00	44.00	6.5	67.00	7.2	200.00	12.5	291.00	17.9	304.00	16.2
	Persons	5.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.5	.....	.....	.....	5.2	.....	4.4	.....

* With health. ** In operation goods. *** Kirkpatrick, E. L., "The Farmer's Standard of Living," Bulletin 1466, U. S. Dept. of Agric., Washington, Nov., 1926.

Rural Standards of Living, Dane County, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Jan., 1931.
 ② Cost of Living on Iowa Farms, Bulletin 237, D. S. Univ. of Iowa State College, Ames, Nov., 1928.

CHAPTER XI

A Prosperous, Stable Ozark Highland Family¹

I. INTRODUCTION

This semi-self-sufficing family on an owner-operated farm of 375 acres is probably the most prosperous family in the region from the standpoint of wealth. The farm is located half a mile from Horseneck, in Izard County, Arkansas. In 1932-33, of the 375 acres, fifteen were in corn, thirty-five in cotton, ten in oats, ten in hay, five in garden, fifteen in pasture, and the balance (285 acres) was woodland. Two mountain streams pass through the farm and there are numerous springs on the hillsides. The first growth timber found in the 285 acres consists mainly of white oak, cherry, walnut, and gum, and the second growth is largely pine.

The soil is composed of sand, limestone, dolomite, and calcareous sandstone. The fine sandy loam is a light yellow which at from five to eight inches passes into a yellowish red or red loam. It is not well supplied either with nitrogen or phosphorous. The use of legumes and the addition of phosphates is essential for the best results.

The family buys much of its groceries, clothing, furniture, and household equipment at Horseneck. Here also are located the doctor, the bank, the high school, and the church. The nearest railroad is at Lovetown, eight miles away. The one-half mile road to Horseneck is a clay mountain trail, but the remainder to Lovetown is gravel. A member of the family goes to town twice a month in the summer and once a month in the winter.

II. THE FAMILY

This family at home consists of husband and wife, five children, a son-in-law, and a granddaughter, nine members in all.

¹ The information was collected by M. E. Frampton during the year 1932-33.

Three daughters are married and living on nearby farms. One son died at the age of eighteen years. A list of the members is as follows:

A. Living at home.

1. Elbert, family operator, married at 21, age 55, born in Izard County.
2. Fannie, homemaker and wife, married at 17, age 51, born in Izard County.
3. Molly, their fourth daughter, age 24, married at 22.
4. Bennie, their second son, age 22.
5. Cora, their fifth daughter, age 19.
6. Marie, their sixth daughter, age 17.
7. Clem, their third son, age 14.
8. John, son-in-law, age 25, husband of Molly, working on the farm with the head of the family.
9. Baby Ann, age one year, first daughter of Molly and John, granddaughter of Elbert and Fannie.

B. Away from home.

1. Mary, their first daughter, age 32, married at 17 years of age, husband farming on adjoining farm, four children.
2. Marian, their second daughter, age 30, married at 20 years of age, husband farming a short distance from the homestead, three children.
3. Myrtle, their third daughter, 28 years of age, married at 20, husband farming nearby on a farm purchased for him by Elbert, his father-in-law, two children.

Elbert, the head of the household, is rather tall, about five feet, eleven inches, has sandy hair, brown eyes, and weighs about 170 pounds. He has always been in good health, except for occasional periods of "stomach trouble." He has had one spell of typhus fever. At fifty-five he is apparently in excellent health. Fannie, his wife, appears to be frail. She is about five feet, eight inches, gaunt, with clear-cut, well-defined features. She weighs about 125 pounds and has blond hair and gray eyes. She has never been

seriously ill but has been "run down" since the birth of her third child. She never complains, but carries on in usual Highland fashion. All children are in excellent health. Cora, the fifth daughter, was once troubled with her eyes, but is now well. Clem, age fourteen, is going through his adolescent period of rapid growth. Baby Ann, the granddaughter, has thus far not been the victim of any of the regular illnesses of childhood. Mary, Elbert's eldest daughter, had a pregnancy at her father's home in 1929 and nearly died. Her child did not live. Elbert secured a doctor in whom he had confidence, although the doctor proved to be a heavy drinker and a morphine addict. The doctor remained in Elbert's home for several months, but finally had to move out. The reason was the opposition to him by Fannie, the wife, based on the grounds that the doctor was too "stuck up" for the family. The second daughter, Marian, who lives on an adjoining farm, was ill in her early childhood with typhus fever and this left her eyes weak. Otherwise she is a healthy mother of three children. The first son, John, died at the age of eighteen. His heart gave way suddenly while doing chores. The neighbors maintain that Elbert worked the boy too hard.

Elbert, the father, attended school up to the fourth grade. The mother also completed the fourth grade. Mary, Myrtle, and John went through the sixth grade, but Molly, their fourth daughter, and Marie, completed the seventh grade. Bennie, their second son, Cora, their fifth daughter, Marie, their sixth daughter, completed one or two years of high school work. Clem, their third son, is in the eighth grade. He attended two weeks of elementary school out of the thirty-two weeks' session. John, their son-in-law, completed the fifth grade.

Elbert is considered the most successful farmer in the county. He has lived all his life on this farm. Even before the depression he was considered the wealthiest farmer of the area. He has a peculiar ability to make money, and he saves what he makes. His neighbors say he has the first nickel which he earned. He is very strict about debts, demands payments owed him, and never contracts debts of his own. He is called "fair and just" in all business

dealings. Personally, he is honest and extremely frugal. His family lives as thrifitly as if they were the poorest of the Highland group. The people consider Elbert one of the assets of their community. The wife, Fannie, comes from a Highland family, not so well-to-do as Elbert's. She is considered a good wife and a fortunate woman to be married to Elbert. The daughters living away from home have all married well and are considered the best people of the area. The children at home, including the son-in-law, are looked upon as respectable citizens of the area. Some of the neighbors think Molly's husband was not good enough for her, but the family are well satisfied. The neighbors who are not so successful as Elbert feel that he works his children too hard. As has been noted, they attribute the death of Elbert's first son, John, to hard work. The family as a whole is considered outstandingly successful for the area.

III. THE HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE FAMILY

Elbert was born here in 1877, the third son of a family of twelve. His father, who was a successful farmer of this area, had several sons and gave them all a good start in farming. The father came from the western part of Tennessee, migrating in a wagon train about 1850. He is of Scotch ancestry and came originally from the Scotch-Irish reservoir in Pennsylvania. Through intermarriage, there is some Indian blood in the family. Elbert's mother was half Indian, and these characteristics show in the straight black hair and other physical traits of his children. When his father died, Elbert received his share of the homestead and was expected to maintain it and make it his residence. Elbert's two older brothers chose to wander further west in search of adventure, and all trace of them has been lost. Elbert's younger brother, Jack, married Elbert's wife's sister, and lives nearby. There have been periods of hard times in the early part of Elbert's family life, but no great suffering. He attributes his success to hard work and economy. He was a farmer before his marriage and had \$200 when he started farming. He thinks a young man

should have \$300 before getting married, and says that eight or nine children are about the right number. The family as a whole has always been supplied with the necessities of life and seems happy.

Fannie, the wife, comes from the Blue family, the second child of a family of thirteen. The Blue family originally came from Kentucky in 1840. They are of English stock and came originally from the English reservoir in Virginia. Her father was a farmer, a good, honest man, who, however, accumulated but little during his lifetime. Fannie brought little material wealth to her husband, but she did bring a devoted, energetic, frugal, self-sacrificing personality without which the success of this family unit would have been impossible. The couple met for the first time at a "hawg killin'" and "took a likin'" to each other.

The members of the family are very religious. Nominally they are Presbyterians. Elbert and his wife attend church regularly although he is not a "member," and the children attend both church and Sunday school. The family has the deep emotional religion characteristic of many Highland people. They attend all revival services and are usually present at the protracted meetings. They contribute a small amount a year to the expenses of the church.

Members of the family are fond of the old ballads and hymn tunes. The hymns which the members of his family enjoy most are "The Old Rugged Cross," "Old Time Religion," "Abide With Me," "Washed in the Blood," and "Lead Kindly Light."

This family feels real responsibility for the religious life of its neighbors. In the revival meetings Elbert, though not a church member, can be heard praying fervently for the conversion of his less religious neighbors. Elbert has had two "visions," both occurring early in his married life. These were the signs of his conversion, and indeed form a part of the religious structure of the normal conversion.

Fannie, the wife, is more emotional than Elbert, and extremely "superstitious". Her chief concern is for her married daughters, who do not attend church and Sunday School as often as she thinks they should. Marie, the youngest girl, seems to have an

outstanding personality and possibility for leadership. She teaches Sunday School in the local church, and is well-liked by all her students and the adults. The children have all been brought up under strict religious discipline, and have been taught to "fear the Lord" and to "walk the straight and narrow path."

A Bible and several hymn books are in the home. The Bible is read frequently, and passages are memorized by the children. Grace is said by the father at each meal. The church festivals, chiefly those at Christmas and Easter, are kept in the usual Protestant fashion.

The family is very proud of its name and reputation. All the children have been taught from childhood to respect parental authority—to obey without question and to adhere rigidly to the moral code of the community. The girls are early taught to beware of seducers of young women, and the boys are schooled in the protection of women's honor. The virtues of honesty, frugality, justice, and kindness are the chief objects of parental instruction. Most of the early home teaching is done by the father, who tells stories of young men and women who have gone astray and explains the cause of their downfall. The evening hearth is the classroom for such periods of instruction. The children are taught to respect the home, and are warned against the "furriners" who would lead them astray, or who make fun of the things which are sacred to them.

The parents are interested in school only to the extent of giving their children an elementary knowledge of the three R's. They say frankly that the trouble with many families is the fact that they have "too much larnin'."

Elbert is a Democrat in politics but is not active. He blames the Republicans for the condition of the country. The chief reason he gives for his present happiness is his children, his wife, and the country in which he lives. His objectives in farming have been to support his family, give them a good home, and make a success in living.

The children are devoted to the parents and to the home. This fact accounts in a large measure for the success with which this

Highland father has kept the family unified. It is expected that Molly's husband, John, if he continues to prove capable and worthy, will assume on the death of Elbert the functions of the head of the household. Elbert's virtues of thrift and hard work and his strong religious belief have been the controls of conduct for parents and children alike.

For many years Elbert and Fannie had no time for any sort of formal recreation. When the children were small, Fannie divided her time between them and her many other duties, and Elbert was too busy with the work of the farm. The only social and recreational activities of that period were a few "hawg killin's," an occasional political meeting, or funerals. Until five years ago they had never been out of the township, but since that time have gone to Batesville to a farm meeting.

As the children grew older more time was devoted to recreation and social events. They seldom had parties at home, but they went to parties at the meeting-house. Basketball and baseball are the chief games for the men. Saturday afternoon is usually the time for the contests between groups in the community. Horseshoes are pitched on Saturday by the menfolk. The girls and women have practically no formal activities. Occasionally the older girls will join the boys in playing basketball, but they generally merely look on.

The members of the family derive a good deal of pleasure from visits with relatives and friends. These often take place on Sunday afternoons. They travel only short distances and usually walk to and from the homes visited. Politics and gossip about neighbors form the chief topics of conversation among the adults. The young men and women carry on their matchmaking always under the eyes of the adults, while the smaller children play group games, usually "Run Sheep Run," "Slice the Bacon," or "Drop the Handkerchief."

Last year the family attended one 4H club meeting at Horse-neck and two church socials. The parents have never seen a movie nor heard a radio. The children have been to dances and movies a few times at Batesville, but not recently.

The chief visitors to the home this year were a teacher, a cattle buyer, and a preacher.

The home has an old reed organ which is used mainly on Sunday afternoons and evenings. During these periods the usual sacred songs and the ballads of the Highlands are sung.

IV. THE PROPERTY

The property of the family consists of :

	Values
1. The House.	
The house has one floor, which is subdivided into a kitchen, living-room, and three bedrooms. It was built in 1890 and remodelled in 1926. There are no "modern" improvements. It is located on a hillside and surrounded by a home-stead of about three-quarters of an acre. Value at local reproduction prices.....	\$ 325.00
2. Farm Buildings.	
One barn, one pen, one hog barn.....	200.00
3. Farm Land.	
The family owns 375 acres of land clear of debt. The first ninety acres was the inheritance of Elbert from his father Rufus. The remainder was purchased by Elbert since he became head of the family. The farm land is valued at \$10.00 per acre	3,750.00
4. Money.	
Elbert says he has about \$3,000 in gold or gold certificates hidden away in various places for "safekeeping"	3,000.00
5. Stock.	
One horse, six mules, two colts, and four two-year olds. Two calves, one bull, one heifer two years old, and one cow. Ten sows and gilts and fifteen pigs, making a total of twenty-five....	1,375.00
Forty chickens over three months old.....	20.00
One house dog, one bird dog.....	10.00
Four hives of bees.....	15.00

6. Tools and Equipment.

These include :

Two plows	Two handsaws
Two wagons	One grindstone
Six hoes	One harrow
Three axes	One anvil
Two hammers	One bucksaw
One hatchet	One fish gig
One saddle	Two rakes
Six pails	One scythe
One large kettle	Two sickles
One sewing machine	One ladder
One small sorghum press	One old loom
Four shovels	One spinning wheel
Three sets of harnesses	One corn shredder, and
One pick	One drag
Three pitchforks	

All of these have an estimated replacement value of	250.00
Miscellaneous small tools for machinery and cultivation purposes	10.00
One automobile—a Ford purchased second-hand in 1928. In good running condition, but not operated during this year	50.00

7. Household Furnishings and Personal Property.

Value	200.00
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Grand total value of the property.....\$9,205.00
(There are no family debts.)

V. THE WORK OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

All the members of the family share in the work of the farm, including the cultivation of the fields, the management of the barn and chores, and the special tasks about the farm.

The work of the husband regularly includes the feeding and care of the horse and all other stock, the repairing of buildings and machinery, the cutting of wood for home use, work in the fields, and taking of produce to market.

The women and girls do the milking, feed and care for the poultry and small barnyard stock, take care of the garden, and attend to the regular household duties, such as housecleaning, preparation of the food, and the care of the children. During the season of planting and cultivation, the women also take an active part in the work in the fields.

The children, both old and young, assist in the regular work about the farm. Bennie, the second son, does an adult's work. Cora (19) and Marie (17) assist their mother in the various duties of the household and are a great help during the crop season. Clem (14) has regular duties, which consist chiefly of caring for some pigs, plowing, and stacking firewood. He has a normal amount of time for the usual recreational pursuits of Highland boys, such as hunting, fishing, and swimming. The son-in-law, John, being the strongest, does most of the difficult work.

During the summer the wife begins work in the morning at 4 a.m. and ends at 8 p.m. In the winter she begins at 5 a.m. and finishes at 7 p.m. Elbert begins work in the summer at 4 a.m. and stops at 7 p.m. The other members of the family including the children follow the general routine of their parents.

Elbert does some special work at milling and ginning during certain periods of the year. He has also been on road work. The amount of his supplementary income has always been small and irregular, and has been received only by Elbert. The small amount of supplementary income has little effect upon the economic status of this family.

VI. THE FOOD AND FOOD HABITS

This Highland family has a simple economic diet sufficient to maintain all the members of the family in good health. Only on certain occasions during the year, such as at Christmas, fourth of July, "hawg killin's" and "berry pickin's," and at a few other times, does one find any variation in the type or amounts of food consumed.

Their diet is composed chiefly of pork, corn meal, sour milk,

and a number of vegetables and fruits. The main vegetables are turnips, potatoes, sweet potatoes, beans (green and pea), cabbage, green and dry onions, cucumbers, peppers, tomatoes, peas, corn, squash, and peanuts. Blueberries, nuts and apples are consumed in season. Kraut is consumed to a considerable extent. Some fresh fish, wild game, and chicken are added to the diet. Eggs are used. In the winter bread and salt pork are the main foods. Corn bread and "cracklin' bread" (which is corn bread containing the ground-up fibre after the lard has been rendered from the fat meat) form the chief breads. Wheat or "light" bread is served only when visitors arrive. Hominy is sometimes made from corn soaked in lye and then cooked until it makes a large savory kernel. The lye is generally made from wood ashes. A great deal of it is also used in making soap. Sorghum molasses is used for "sweetin'." Refined sugar is seldom used. Honey is regarded and used as a delicacy. The greens are boiled with bacon-rind. Coffee and sour milk are the main beverages.

The family eats three meals a day. Breakfast about 6 a.m. consists usually of corn bread or corn mush, sorghum and some form of pork, with coffee or sour milk. Lunch at about 12 noon is also a heavy meal. It generally includes corn bread, sweet potatoes, beans, pork, or game, coffee, some berries or fruit in season, and cake. Dinner, eaten between 5 and 6 p.m., is a light meal in comparison with the others. Corn bread, greens, and left-overs from lunch are consumed. Usually the beverage is again coffee or sour milk.

At social gatherings, weddings, and church suppers the quantity of food is increased, and the variety is extended. Pies, cakes, fruits, sweets, and quantities of pork and game are eaten from bowls or pots placed in the center of the table. Whiskey is indulged in widely by the menfolk, but they remove themselves from the dinner table to another room to do their drinking. Chewing tobacco is popular. Some smoking is done by the women, but the heaviest consumption of tobacco is by the men of the house. The family spends an average of about forty minutes at each meal. The members of the family have their regular seats at the table.

The women eat after the men. Dishes are put on the table and "passed." Oil cloth is used for the table cover.

VII. THE HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The house is the typical box type of Highland home. Built originally in 1890 and remodelled in 1926, it has but one floor. There are five rooms and two porches, including a kitchen, a living room, and three bedrooms. The kitchen, living room, and one bedroom are heated by two open fireplaces, one in the kitchen and the other in the living room. The bedroom adjoining the living room receives some of the heat from the living room fireplace.

The kitchen has a large fireplace with irons on which to hang pots and kettles. There is also a small cook stove which uses kerosene. This is used for general cooking, particularly in the summer. Most of the cooking is done in pots or kettles suspended over the open fire.

One bedroom serves for Elbert and Fannie, another for Molly, her husband and their small child, and the third for Cora, Marie and Clem. Bennie sleeps on a straw tick laid each evening in the living room. The master's bedroom has one cherry bedstead, two chairs, and a homemade dresser without a mirror. There are several homemade hooked rugs on the floor. The second bedroom occupied by Molly and her husband, has a double maple bed, three chairs, a homemade crib, several orange crates used for cabinets, and a rocker and trunk. The girls' bedroom contains one pine bedstead, two chairs, one straw tick, one dresser with a mirror, and a stand with a walnut chest. The walls of all the rooms have been "papered" with pictures from magazines, comic sections of newspapers, and other pictures of interest to the occupants of the room. There are no closets. Nails driven into the wall serve for hanging up the clothing owned by the occupants.

There is no toilet either in the house or on the farm. The back porch is used as a washstand by all members.

The living room has three rocking chairs, an organ, a chest

of drawers, several three-legged stools, and a table. The large fireplace takes up one whole end of the room. Over it hangs the family rifle and the family portraits.

Few other utensils are to be found in the home, except a few dishes and a very small amount of "silverware," barely sufficient for all members of the family. The following is an inventory of the kitchen furnishings:

One pot hanger	Six knives (dinner)
Two andirons (homemade)	Six spoons
One small fireplace shovel	Six forks
One cast-iron kettle	Ten plates (dinner)
One copper kettle	Six bowls (china)
Two small kettles	Five drinking glasses
One long-handled frying pan	Two earthen jugs
Two kitchen knives	Ten lard pails
One five gallon kerosene can	

Lighting is by two kerosene lamps. A kerosene lantern is kept for use on the farm.

The laundry is done in a large kettle kept in the yard outdoors. There are three heavy flat-irons and an ironing board (homemade) for laundry purposes.

The "family linen," the sheets and towels, is composed of sugar sacks sewed together. Twelve colorful patchwork quilts have been made by the women folk.

The yard surrounding the home is swept clean and is bare of grass. There are some flowers and shrubs growing around the front porch.

VIII. THE CLOTHING

The chief wearing apparel of the men is overalls. The family has ten pairs of these, two caps, six hats (including straw hats), and one Sunday suit belonging to the father. One sweater, twelve shirts, three store-purchased dress shirts, four suits of winter underwear (none is worn in summer), twenty-two pairs of cotton stockings, eight pairs of shoes (work and Sunday), and one pair of overshoes, complete the male wardrobe. Pocket linen is little used.

The women usually wear cotton dresses, though many of the younger girls wear overalls a large part of the time. For the women and the child there are fourteen dresses (cotton), seventeen silk and woolen dresses, six pairs of overalls, three summer hats, three fall and winter hats, four bloomers and vests, eight union suits (cotton), eight pairs of shoes, three handkerchiefs, six diapers, and one baby's sweater.

IX. THE FAMILY BUDGET FOR 1932-1933

A. Income for the Year	Kind	Money or Trade Credit	Total
1. Food produced and used at home			
Potatoes, 35 bu.	\$35.00		\$35.00
Sweet potatoes, 25 bu.	18.00		18.00
Turnips, 25 bu.	10.00		10.00
Dry onions, 10 bu.	10.00		10.00
Green onions, 4 bu.	4.00		4.00
Kraut, 60 gals.	15.00		15.00
Cucumbers, 4 bu.	4.00		4.00
Peppers, 2 bu.	2.00		2.00
Tomatoes, 12 bu.	8.00		8.00
Beans (green), 10 bu.	7.50		7.50
Beans (shell), 4 bu.	4.00		4.00
Peas, 6 bu.	4.00		4.00
Corn, 12 bu.	4.00		4.00
Squash, 4 tons	16.00		16.00
Peanuts, 15 bu.	11.00		11.00
Blueberries, 6 bu.	4.00		4.00
Apples, 4 bu.	1.00		1.00
Milk, 1500 qts.	75.00		75.00
Butter, 150 lbs.	30.00		30.00
Pork, 1200 lbs.	72.00		72.00
Cornmeal, 1500 lbs.	15.00		15.00
Honey, 40 lbs.	5.00		5.00
Sorghum, 25 gals.	12.00		12.00
Nuts, 3 bu.	2.00		2.00
Eggs, 150 doz.	10.50		10.50
Chickens, 200 lbs.	20.00		20.00
2. Rent of house	65.00		65.00
3. Fuel	25.00		25.00
4. Money or Trade Credits			
Sale of 20 bales of cotton at \$30 per bale	600.00		600.00
Sale of 1000 qts. of milk at \$.05 per quart	50.00		50.00
Sale of 150 lbs. chicken at \$.09....	13.50		13.50
Sale of 6 bu. tomatoes	4.00		4.00
Sale of 7 bu. peanuts	5.00		5.00
Sale of 1 ton squash	4.00		4.00
Supplementary road work	22.00		22.00
Total Income	\$489.00	\$698.50	\$1187.50

B. Expenses for the Year	Kind	Money or Trade-Credit	Total
1. Food purchased for home consumption			
Sugar, 400 lbs.	\$	\$20.00	\$20.00
Coffee, 100 lbs.	—	12.00	12.00
Extracts, 23 boxes	—	2.00	2.00
Salt, 300 lbs.	—	3.00	3.00
Soda, 30 boxes	—	2.00	2.00
Baking Powder, 20 boxes	—	3.00	3.00
Lye, 2 cans	—	1.00	1.00
Matches, 20 boxes	—	1.00	1.00
Flour, 1200 lbs.	—	24.00	24.00
Vinegar, 4 gals.	—	2.00	2.00
2. Food produced for home consumption	399.00		399.00
3. Clothing purchased		90.00	90.00
4. Rent and fuel	90.00	2.00	92.00
5. All other expenses			
Doctors' fees and medicine	—	28.00	28.00
Books and supplies	—	9.20	9.20
Newspapers	—	1.50	1.50
Beneficence	—	1.50	1.50
Gifts	—	1.00	1.00
Stationery, postage	—	2.00	2.00
Barber, toilet articles	—	3.00	3.00
Candy, gum, toys	—	1.00	1.00
Tobacco	—	7.00	7.00
Taxes	—	110.00	110.00
Miscellaneous	—	3.50	3.50
Total expense	\$489.00	\$329.70	\$818.70
C. Summary of income and expense for the year			
Income	\$489.00	\$698.50	\$1187.50
Expense	489.00	329.70	818.70
Profit added to the family savings	\$	\$368.80	\$368.80

Five bales of cotton sold for \$150 represented a carry-over from previous years. Consequently, the savings for this year were increased by that amount over what they would have been.

X. SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

This family is a simple but relatively prosperous family living in a comparatively accessible part of the Ozark Highland district. It is strikingly similar to a number of families described by Frédéric Le Play for the various "Cases of Prosperity" in western Europe. The family has sufficient food, clothing, and shelter for all basic needs. They have little money from our commercial standards and purchase few goods. It is strongly familialistic and

highly integrated. As such it represents a variant, not only in its economic life but also in its social solidarity, of the typical urban or commercial farm family in America.

Social mobility is low. When the children move, it is only for short distances to nearby farms. As their formal collective activities are few in number, life is very informal. They observe local customs rigidly. The home and the hearth are the center of their familistic enterprises.

This family contributes little to the agricultural surplus of the nation. Its members have not been a burden on the relief funds of county, state, or federal agencies. On the contrary, it stands ready to help its absent members, who so far have not called for aid during the depression. The family has not been changed through contact with outside forces. It is maintaining itself in relative peace and stability in its Highland home.

The chief factor in the physical and moral well-being of this family has been the family organization. This strong family organization has been maintained in part by the geographic and psycho-social isolation of the family. Removed from the cultural contacts of other rural, village, or urban areas, it continues its own existence relatively free from the conflicts certain to occur between its culture and that of the lowlands or the city. Likewise, the moral and religious codes early taught the Highland child to maintain "women's honor," and violations of the code are severely punished. These strong moral and religious codes of the family assist in developing regular habits of work, obedience to paternal authority, thrift, and in maintaining the establishment of the family. Further, the family heir is carefully chosen and the continuity of the family as a unit is fairly well assured. The family hearth is supplemented by the work of the school, so that the education of the child remains home-centered. The family home-stead is located in a region in which subsistence, but not commercial agriculture, can be adequately provided for. The soil assures good returns in products for the labor expended. The climate and the rainfall are sufficiently beneficent to permit normal growing seasons.

Furthermore, the family have had a good heritage. Looked at economically, they receive capital with which to start, and a good name in the community. They are also fortunate, so far as our facts show, in being a family with high native ability. In short, the geographic and psycho-social isolation, the moral and religious codes, and the geographic and physiographic as well as economic factors, all unite to assure the moral and physical well-being of this Highland family.

In addition, it should be pointed out that this family saves money against bad times and helps the young to start out on their own. All of this is done in spite of the low income by the mechanism of simple living. The family does not live materially above the others in the community. The members work extremely hard, unusually so for this community.

Its internal organization is such that family pressure on the members is a part of everyday life and is not felt as "domination." A part of this family pressure is its internal solidarity and its attempts to keep its traditional rôle in the community. This traditional rôle is a stronger force in many types of behavior than is individual preference. The members tend to act as the family is regarded by the community. Individual desire is molded by the total family tradition.

The defects in the system of living appear largely on the material side. Health is not taken care of as it might be. Many sanitary conveniences could be utilized. The springs on the hill-sides above the house make it easy to secure a supply of running water for the small cost of piping. This could also be used for indoor refrigeration. If the family desired or were instructed, a much more comfortable house, from the urban point of view, could easily be constructed.

CHAPTER XII

A Poverty Stricken But Stable Ozark Highland Family¹

I. INTRODUCTION

This tenant family is probably the poorest in the region from an economic point of view, but its self-sufficiency and its solidarity have enabled it to maintain itself without recourse to public charity.

The farm is located two miles from Horseneck. Of the thirty acres share-rented ten are in corn, nineteen in cotton, and one in garden and pasture. The farm home is located on a hill overlooking a narrow valley, at an elevation of about 750 feet above sea level. Three springs furnish the farm home with good drinking water and refrigeration. There are few trees on the land.

The soil is composed largely of dolomite and calcareous sandstone. It has been cropped for so many years without the necessary fertilizer that the yield is light, averaging less than half a bale of cotton or ten bushels of corn per acre.

The family purchases groceries, clothing, furniture, and household equipment at Horseneck. Here also are found the bank, the high school, and the church. The family physician lives at Batesville, Arkansas. The railroad is at Lovetown, nine miles from the farm. The roads to the farm from Horseneck are dirt, good in dry weather, but impassable by car in wet weather. The roads from Horseneck to Batesville and Lovetown are gravel. Some of the family go to town once a week during the summer, but in winter only about twice a month.

II. THE FAMILY

The family at home consists of a husband and wife, five

¹ The information was collected by M. E. Frampton during 1932-33.

children, one daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. There are eleven members at home; three are away.

A. Living at home.

1. John, family head, age 60 years.
2. Mary, homemaker and wife, age 56.
3. Elbert, the second son, age 27.
4. Ruth, the third daughter, age 22.
5. Ray, the third son, age 19.
6. Helen, the fourth daughter, age 15.
7. Olin, the fourth son, age 13.
8. The daughter-in-law, Elbert's wife, age 25. Born in Horseneck.
9. One grandson, age 5. Elbert's child.
10. One granddaughter, age 3. Elbert's child.
11. One granddaughter, age 1. Elbert's child.

B. Away from home.

1. Leta, the first child and the oldest daughter, age 36, married, living in Oklahoma on a farm, has five children.
2. Rose, the second daughter, age 32, married, living in Texas, farming, three children.
3. Ed, the first son, age 30, married, farming in Oklahoma, four children.

John, the head of the household, is a rather small man about five feet six inches tall. He is nearly blind and works little on the farm, having been more or less sickly since his early thirties.

Mary, his wife, is frail and has been ill constantly since her late twenties. In spite of this she does much of the work of the household.

Elbert, the second son, is married and has three children living in the household. He is in excellent health. He is the heir, and will be responsible for carrying on the family after the death of John.

His children, the boy five, and the girls three and one, are all healthy and have been free from the usual children's diseases.

Ray, the third son, drinks a great deal.

Ruth, the third daughter, is the most physically fit of all. She is married but not living with her husband. Ruth has had two illegitimate children, both of whom died in early infancy.

The other members of the family living at home are in excellent health and have no physical handicaps.

The oldest daughter, Leta, who resides away from home, is the mother of five children, all strong and healthy. The second daughter, Rose, is sickly, probably with tuberculosis. She is married and has three children. Edward, the oldest son, is married and has four children.

None of the members of the family have attended school. Even the children now of school age are not in school, and have never attended. The father of the family, and the daughters, Ruth and Helen, seem to be bordering on feeble-mindedness. The youngest son, Olin, seems brightest of all. The father thinks education ruins children. "Teach them at home is the best method." Schools cost too much, and have too many "big" ideas. Parents expect children to become self-supporting at fourteen to sixteen year of age.

John, who is illiterate, is a typical share-cropper of the poorest class. He has been on this farm for forty years. The family is considered "white trash" by the neighbors, and "poor whites" by the lowland people. He is a "little queer," but is well-liked and considered harmless. The family is always in debt at the close of each crop year.

The wife, Mary, also comes from a poor share-cropper's family. She is illiterate and is supposed to come from poor intellectual stock.

The boy, Ray, stole an overcoat at a basketball game during the fall of 1932, but the owner discovered him and made him return it. The community did not feel this a case for the courts. The older boys often get drunk and get into trouble with the "law," but nothing serious has happened thus far.

Leta, the oldest girl, married a shiftless mountaineer who moved to Flint, Michigan, for a few years of work. He has returned to the hills, owing to unemployment, and is a share-

cropper. Other members of the family fear he will leave Leta and that the family will have to take care of her and the children.

Marriage is early in this family among both the men and women. John was married at the age of 22; Mary, his wife, at 18; Leta, their first daughter, at 18; Rose, their second daughter, at 17; Edward, their first son, at 19; Elbert, their second son, at 20; and Ruth, their third daughter, at 16. Elbert's wife was married at the age of 18.

III. THE HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE FAMILY

John was born in this township in 1874. He was the third son of seventeen children of Jim ———, a share-cropper whose parents migrated to these Ozark Hills from eastern Kentucky in 1840. His father left him not even a good name. The ancestry is Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. John's brothers, eight in all, settled at Lafferty's Creek about the time John settled at Horse-neck. Five of these brothers are still living in the area. The sisters are married and all but two live near Horseneck. Two have migrated, one to Dallas, Texas, and the other to Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The parentage of Mary is very obscure. Her father, an Englishman, and her grandfather came from Virginia to the Ozark region in 1847. They were horse traders by profession. They left Virginia hurriedly and for unexplained reasons. Mary brought no money or worldly possessions as her dowry. She did, however, bring willing and capable hands which have enabled the family to exist through the present depression.

The present landlord set John and Mary up on his farm forty years ago. They had no money or stock when married. There have been periods of difficult times, but the family has never been without food. Nor has there been any great suffering. The members of the family enjoy life and seem content.

The family has little sympathy with many of the local religious communions. They attend the religious revivals which are held once or twice a year, and there they "get their religion" for the year. The members are superstitious and may be seen carrying

out a regular family ritual for appeasing the "haunts." They like to sing hymns, and consequently attend the "meeting sings." Their favorite hymns are "The Old Rugged Cross," "Rock Mountain," "Rock of Ages," and "Shall We Gather at the River." The religious life of the children, so far as regular instruction is concerned, is meager. There is a Bible in the home but none of the adults read sufficiently well to use it. No grace is said at table. The women profess to have an interest in religion, and talk a good deal about religious matters, but do not attend church, and contribute little or nothing to its upkeep.

They would not move to the city if they could. "It's cheaper and better here."

The family has some pride in itself. The children have been taught since early childhood to obey the community mores as these are interpreted by the family. The time spent about the evening hearth is devoted largely to gossip and talk about the crops. There is little formal instruction by the parents. Discussion often turns about the "furriner" and what he enjoys. The children are devoted to their parents and to their home. They visit frequently among themselves and find a good deal of happiness and pleasure in their family relationships. The family stands together as a unit, and if any member gets into trouble the whole family and all relatives stand behind the individual member. Elbert, the second son, will become head of the household and take over the tenure upon the death of his father, providing the owner will give his consent. Owing to the strength of local custom this consent may be expected.

The family as a whole spends little time in trading or formal recreational activities. There are many family gatherings which are social affairs. The men pitch horseshoes and the women sew. The "religious meetings" are partly social and recreational. The boys play basketball frequently and two of the girls, Helen and Ruth, attend the 4H clubs. The youngest boy, Olin, plays a violin which he secured through a neighbor who taught him to play. For Highland families the social and religious life of this family seems unusually meager, but the members seem to be contented and happy.

IV. THE PROPERTY

The property of the family consists of:

	Values
1. The House.	
The house, built in 1911, has one floor which is divided into two bedrooms, a kitchen, and a living room. There are no modern improvements nor outdoor toilet. Value at local reproduction prices is \$150.00.	
2. Farm Buildings.	
One barn, one hay shed, one pig-pen. Value \$75.00.	
3. Farm Land.	
The family owns no land.	
4. Money.	
The family has no savings. The only money which the family is able to secure is for extra work on roads or the sale of nuts or chickens to tourists. They have little cash and do their buying on credit established by their landlord.	
5. Stock.	
One horse, two mules over two years of age, two milk cows, five pigs, twenty-five chickens, two bird dogs, and two hives of bees.....	200.00
6. Tools and Equipment.	
These include :	
One plow	One harrow
One wagon	Two pitchforks
Two hoes	One anvil
One axe	One gun
One hammer	One rake
One hatchet	One sickle
Two shovels	One ladder
Two sets of harness	One saddle
One hand-saw	One large kettle
One drag	
(The landlord owns a half interest in the plow and the wagon)	50.00

7. Household Furnishings and Personal Property.

Value	100.00
Total property owned by tenant	\$350.00
Family debt owed to merchant and guaranteed by the owner of the farm	500.00
Gross debt owed after surplus from 1932-33 operations (\$77.00) has been deducted	\$423.00

V. THE WORK OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

The head of the household feeds and cares for the horse and mules, takes produce to market, cuts wood for home use, and works in the fields. The wife does the milking, feeds and cares for the poultry, takes care of the vegetable garden, and works in the fields. She also does the regular housework. She receives considerable help from the other women in the household. Elbert's wife, Ruth, and Helen do their share of the work. Elbert does most of the heavy field work and is helped by Ray and Olin. Olin cares for the pigs. Considering the size of the family and the amount of work to do, no member of the family should find his task burdensome.

They rise early and retire early. They all seem to have sufficient time on their hands, with little to do but sit and chew. The family begins work at 5 a.m. in the winter, and 4 a.m. in the summer. The tempo of the work is not rapid. They stop at 6 in the winter, and 8 in summer.

Little supplementary work was done by the family during the year of this study. Some years the older boys pick cotton for a few weeks, work on the roads, or go to Batesville and work in the mines for a short time, but this year very few supplementary occupations were found. Elbert did road work this year for wages amounting to \$18.

VI. THE FOOD AND FOOD HABITS

Seldom in the Highlands does one find a family whose table is so meager as is that of this family. The diet is composed largely

of cornbread and pork. Some milk is consumed, and also chickens. The chief vegetables are potatoes (Irish and sweet), beets, turnips, onions, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, peas, tomatoes, and corn. Oatmeal, macaroni, and crackers are sometimes purchased. Honey from the hives is consumed. On special occasions, such as berry-pickings and "hawg-killin's" the family has a slightly different diet.

Three meals are eaten each day and all three of these meals are composed of practically the same food. Coffee is drunk with all meals. Breakfast is at about 6 a.m., lunch about noon, and dinner about 5 p.m. Pies, cakes, and sweets are rarely consumed. The parents have never seen nor tasted bananas, oranges, or grapefruit. Tobacco is generously consumed by all members of the household, men and women. All the male adults drink liquor which is made on the farm for home consumption only. The family spends about thirty minutes at each meal. Regular places are reserved for men and children. The women wait until the men have finished their meal.

VII. THE HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The house is a small combination box and cabin type. In addition to the four rooms, there are two porches, one in front and one in back. The kitchen and the living room are heated in the winter by a large fireplace in the living room. Over this most of the meals are cooked. The kitchen has a kerosene cookstove, a table, and a cupboard which contains the few eating utensils. The living room has besides the fireplace, one bed used by Elbert and his wife when no guests are present, two chairs, one table, one trunk, several small three-legged stools, and two pictures, one depicting the Arkansas Traveler, and the other a gentleman of the 18th century who is supposed to be a very important ancestor. No detailed information could be secured about this personage other than that he was famous for his good deeds in Scotland. The first bedroom is occupied by John and his wife, Mary. In addition to the bed there are two chairs, one dresser, one trunk, and a table. A straw tick in this room serves as a bed for Olin and one grandchild. The second bedroom has a bed, two chairs, a

dresser, and two small ticks on the floor. Ray age 19, sleeps on the porch in summer and in the hay barn in winter. When guests are housed Elbert goes to the hay barn and his wife sleeps with Ruth or Helen. A night spent in the household convinces one that overcrowding is not a serious problem even though personal privacy is not to be had.

On the back porch is a washstand, and towels are hung on nails driven into the house.

The kitchen utensils include one pot hanger, two andirons, one iron kettle, one copper kettle, one frying pan, four knives, four spoons, six forks, eight dinner plates, six china bowls, two drinking glasses, five tin cups, one jug, twenty-two lard buckets, one five-gallon kerosene can.

Lighting is by kerosene. There are two lamps for the house, and a lantern for the barn.

Laundry is done outdoors. Two flatirons, a kettle, and an ironing board make up the laundry equipment.

The bedclothing consists of two cotton blankets, eight quilts, and one shawl (wool). There are no sheets. The straw ticks are made from sugar sacks sewed together. The two hand towels are also made from sugar sacks.

The walls of the house are covered with comic papers and magazine covers. The yard around the house is clean and bare of grass. There are a few roses growing around the house. The homestead is not well kept up.

VIII. THE CLOTHING

The chief wearing apparel for men and boys is overalls. There are three caps, one hat, eight pairs of overalls, nine work shirts, two winter union suits, seven pairs of shoes, one pair of overshoes, and five handkerchiefs for four men and one child.

The four women and two girls have nine dresses, six pairs of cotton underclothes, three pairs of shoes, seven pairs of cotton stockings, and twelve handkerchiefs.

The clothing is exceedingly meager but they seem to have sufficient to meet their needs.

IX. THE FAMILY BUDGET FOR 1932-33

A. Income for the Year	Kind	Money or Trade Credit	Total
1. Food produced and used at home			
Potatoes, 12 bu.	\$9.00		\$9.00
Sweet potatoes, 15 bu.	9.00		9.00
Beets, 2 bu.	2.00		2.00
Turnips, 5 bu.	2.50		2.50
Onions (dry), 3 bu.	1.00		1.00
Cabbage, 5 bu.	5.00		5.00
Onions (green), 1 bu.	2.00		2.00
Cucumbers, 1 bu.	1.00		1.00
Tomatoes, 10 bu.	5.00		5.00
String beans, 4 bu.	4.00		4.00
Peas, 5 bu.	2.00		2.00
Corn (sweet), 3 bu.	2.00		2.00
Blackberries, 4 bu.	3.00		3.00
Milk, 2144 qts.	107.00		107.00
Chickens, 150 lbs.	12.00		12.00
Pork, 400 lbs.	20.00		20.00
Sorghum, 20 gals.	10.00		10.00
Honey, 3 gals.	1.20		1.20
Whiskey, 8 gals.	4.00		4.00
2. Rent of house	30.00		30.00
3. Fuel	25.00		25.00
4. Money or trade credits			
Sale of 7 bales cotton at \$25	—	175.00	175.00
Sale of 25 lbs. chicken at \$.07	—	.75	.75
Road work of Elbert	—	18.00	18.00
Total income	\$256.70	\$194.75	\$451.45
B. Expenses for the Year			
1. Food purchased for home consumption			
Oatmeal, 40 boxes		\$4.00	
Macaroni, 10 boxes		1.00	
Crackers, 20 boxes		2.00	
Lard, 20 buckets		15.00	
Sugar, 150 lbs.		7.50	
Coffee, 52 lbs.		4.50	
Salt, pepper, 23 boxes		1.50	
Baking powder, 25 boxes		2.00	
Lye, 10 boxes		1.00	
Blueing, 4 bottles		.40	
Matches, 30 boxes		.90	
Tacks, 1 box		.05	
2. Food produced for home consumption	201.70		201.70
3. Clothing purchased	—	49.50	49.50
4. Rent and fuel	55.00	3.00	58.00
5. All other expenses			
Doctor and medicine	—	8.00	8.00
Fork for hay	—	1.00	1.00
Postage	—	.15	.15
Personal taxes	—	2.25	2.25
Candy, gum, taxes	—	2.00	2.00
Tobacco	—	12.00	12.00
Total expenses	\$256.70	\$117.75	\$374.45

C. Summary of income and expenses for the year

	Kind	Money or Trade Credit	Total
Income	\$256.70	\$194.75	\$451.45
Expense	256.70	117.75	374.45
Profit from operations, applied to re- duce the debt of the family at the store \$		\$77.00	\$77.00

Any surplus over and above the amount of living expenses at the store is used to pay off the old debts, or to get credit on the next year. The landlord agreed to be responsible for the tenants' bills up to \$150 for 1932-33, and the surplus was used to reduce the \$500 debt to \$423. Cotton production was checked at the gin and all grocery accounts were checked at the store. The tenants have almost no cash during the year, and depend almost entirely upon the income derived from the crop and the produce from their garden to furnish them with the basic needs of living.

X. SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

This family is simple and self-sufficing, not prosperous but making a living by raising most of its food. Mobility is low. Collective enterprises are few in number, and the members are extremely familialistic in sentiment. They contribute virtually nothing to the agricultural surplus and are not a burden on the relief funds of county, state, and federal agencies. They have few cultural contacts with the urban or rural worlds. The family is, on the whole, living in relative peace and stability and in partial isolation. It represents a low type tenant family of the Ozark Highlands.

The most important factors in the physical and moral well-being of this tenant family are its geographic and psycho-social isolation. Isolated as the family is, there is no special urge for its members to attempt to follow the standard of living of the lowlands or urban areas; such an attempt would wreck the moral as well as the economic structure of the family. They are content with what they have, and though their material goods are few their wants are also few. Like their more successful Highland

neighbors, they have moral and religious beliefs which strongly encourage habits of work, obedience to parents, early marriage, strict sex regulations, and strong familialistic tendencies. The family hearth takes the place of the school room, and educates the children after its own fashion. Unlike their successful Highland neighbors, they are not blessed with much intelligence, and the ability to save and plan is lacking.

Briefly, this Highland family, at the bottom of the social pyramid, having poor native intelligence (the family, it will be remembered, is dependent upon a Highland owner whose father helped Elbert's father, and who feels an obligation to Elbert), and meager capital equipment, is able to exist, is semi-self-sufficing, and is content. The heir is already named, so that the family organization is the same as that of the other families described. Judging this family on the basis of its standards of living and its general mental ability, it would be on the relief rolls in any urban or commercialized agricultural area. The position of the family is, however, quite the opposite. It is socially prosperous although not economically prosperous. The chief reason for the success of this family, poorly equipped as it is, lies in the social organization of which it is a part. In the first place, the moral and religious sentiments of the community develop strong familialistic ties which bind the families of the community in close relationship. In the second place, the social constitution guarantees a real interest of the "owner-patron" (in this case he owns land, house, and most of the equipment) in the tenant, his welfare, his family and his happiness. This "permanent-voluntary" relationship makes it possible for this family to exist, while if one were to transplant this same family to another area under a system of "momentary engagements" it would in a very short time be on the charity rolls. In the third place, this family receives certain "subventions" or voluntary arrangements which provide the family with various necessities. The food, clothing, and sundry accounts at the store, guaranteed by the landlord, the road work arranged for them through the landlord, the payment of services in kind, the use of capital goods, and the carrying of debts without interest,

are types of "subventions" granted by the social organization, making it possible for this family to exist and be socially prosperous although it is economically un-prosperous. Thus we find in the social organization the chief elements which make this family relatively successful in spite of its many handicaps.

CHAPTER XIII

An Owner Problem Family in the Arkansas Ozarks¹

I. INTRODUCTION

This family, although of good stock, is a social problem because of rowdyism. The farm is four miles from Horseneck. In 1932-33 of the total 400 acres, six were in corn, eight in cotton, six in hay, twenty in pasture, and the balance (360 acres) in woodland. The homestead comprises about one-half an acre on a plateau about 600 feet above sea level. There is much good white oak, cherry, walnut, and pine timber on the farm.

The soil is largely limestone and calcareous sandstone. The top soil is not rich, and poor yields on all crops are common.

The family buys its groceries, clothing, furniture, and household equipment, and secures medical, banking, school, and church facilities at Horseneck. The nearest railroad is at Lovetown, Arkansas, eleven miles away. The roads to Horseneck are mountain trails and passable only on foot or horseback. The roads from Horseneck to Lovetown are gravel. Some member of the family goes to town once a month.

II. THE FAMILY

This family, living at home, consists of husband and wife and six children, or eight in all. In addition there are three married sons, one, the eldest, living on a farm nearby, one in Texas, and one in Missouri.

¹ Information collected by M. E. Frampton in 1932-33.

A. Living at home.

1. Robert, family operator, married at 32, age 60, born in Izard County, Arkansas.
2. Mary, homemaker and wife, age 46, married at 18.
3. Calsie, first daughter, age 20.
4. Albert, fourth son, age 18.
5. Mary, second daughter, age 16.
6. Mark, fifth son, age 13.
7. Morris, sixth son, age 11.
8. King, seventh son, age 9.

B. Away from home.

1. Harris, first son, age 26, married at 20, farming nearby, two children.
2. Edward, second son, age 24, married at 18, living in Texas, one child.
3. John, third son, age 22, married at 18, living in Texas, one child.

Robert, the head of the household, is rather large, about five feet, ten inches, has black hair, black eyes, and weighs about 190 pounds. He has been in fairly good health until recent years. At present he is almost helpless, being crippled by rheumatism. He is able some days to assist with light chores, but usually his day time is spent sleeping in the sun on the porch.

Mary, his wife, is about five feet, seven inches, with clear-cut features. She has never been ill, and has been the organizer and chief stabilizing influence in the family. She is capable of an enormous amount of hard physical labor.

Harris, the first son, has no important physical handicaps. Harris is to be head of the family. He does not live with the family but on a nearby farm. Edward, who lives in Texas, has been sickly since he worked in the mines at Spadra, Arkansas. He says the dust "got me." The family relieves him from work when he is at home, and now is urging him to return to the home place, where he finds his lung trouble less painful than it is where he now lives.

The third son, John, has no physical handicaps and has always been well.

Calsie, the first daughter, intends to marry soon and start a home of her own.

Albert, the fourth son, lost his hand in a saw mill, and is not able to do much work. He is not asked to do any heavy work, except care for the "ginseng," a medicinal root, which the family sells in town. The young man has a pleasant personality. The family members feel that he should go to school and prepare for the ministry or for teaching. The reasons for their interest in his education will be explained later.

Mary, the second daughter, has been ill recently with typhus fever, and has not regained her strength. She seems normal in all other respects.

Morris, the sixth son, seems undernourished and sickly. His mother said he had a "hard time" from the start.

Mark and King, the other two sons, seem to be normal.

Robert, the father, finished three years of high school, and can talk with intelligence on a wide range of subjects. Mary, his wife, and the second son, Edward, completed the sixth grade. None of the children attended school during 1932-33. Albert has much potential ability and should do well in a vocational school.

Robert is considered the most obstreperous man in the community. He has always been a man of violent passions, and in his active days quarreled and fought with his neighbors and members of his own family. He would fight with anyone who crossed him. He has been known to whip the postmaster, the blacksmith, and the sheriff on the sole pretext that these individuals had made slighting remarks about his dirty whiskers. The community, however, believes him to be a man of his word. Some of the members of the group take delight in what they call his "pranks." The community held Robert's father in great respect, and it is chiefly this respect for the memory of his father that leads the community to put up with all the actions of Robert and his son Albert. Robert has not been very successful in making or saving money. He has

managed to "get by" providing his large family with the basic necessities. He has also managed to keep out of serious difficulty.

Albert, the son, has brought his share of disrepute on the family name. Before he lost the use of his hand, he once got into a fight at a dance, and threw a rock which fractured the skull of his opponent. The injured man was near death for many days but finally recovered, although friends believe that he is still a bit queer from the blow. The relatives of the injured man lodged a complaint of manslaughter against Albert, but, on the word of Robert, who promised to see that Albert did no more serious harm, and the testimony of his brother, his sisters and his mother that Albert had acted in self-defence, the court released Albert to the father. The community gave their full approval to the court's action. Some of the neighbors claim that the loss of Albert's hand was "God's punishment."

Mary, the wife, also comes from an excellent pioneer family of the Highlands. She has been the economic salvation of the family. An excellent cook, she makes the meager income go as far as possible. She literally forces the men to work. The neighbors credit her with keeping Robert in bounds, and with making a living for the family.

The daughter, Calsie, is a subject of gossip, because she has been seen talking several times with a clothing salesman from Little Rock. Robert is much afraid she will disgrace the family, and is urging her to marry. Some think she has "doin's with the Little Rock man."

The family as a whole is not considered dangerous by the community, but it is, and has been, one of the problem families of the area. One oldtimer expressed himself this way when asked about the family, "Somethin' alys 'em all the time, nothin' serious, jest the Devil."

III. THE HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE FAMILY

Robert was born on this farm in 1873. He is the oldest son of four children born to a former Union Civil War veteran. His

father gave Robert a good start in life and left him the homestead on which he now resides. Richard, Robert's father, came from Kentucky, and his ancestors came from the Scotch-Irish groups in Pennsylvania. Mary, the wife, also comes from an excellent pioneer family of the Highlands.

There have been no periods of hard times in the life of the family, but never has there been much material prosperity. The family has, nevertheless, been happy.

Robert has little time or respect for the church or religion. He does, however, deeply respect the memory and the deep religious faith of his father, Richard, who was an elder in the Presbyterian Church. Robert once said that he did not want anything to happen in his family which would destroy the respect which the community had for his father. Mary, the wife, attends church occasionally, but none of the members of the family belong to the church. They are all fond of singing old hymns and ballads. They have been seen several times at the revival meetings. Once the neighbors thought that Robert was going to get religion, but he suddenly left the meeting. No one followed the usual custom and prayed for him, because they thought he might hear of it and "lick" them. There is a Bible in the home, and the mother reads passages on Sunday evenings. No Grace is said at meals. The children have been taught by word and by rod to respect and honor the family name.

The parents have little interest in education, but they hope to educate Albert in order that the community may regain some of the respect for the family which was lost by Albert's act. Secretly they hope he will become a minister.

In spite of Robert's strict discipline in the home the children all greatly admire and respect him. There are no signs of family dissension. It is understood that Harris is to be the head of the family after Robert dies.

This family secures most of its social and recreational life in the home. They have attended "hawg killin's" and "sings," but they have generally had trouble and of late years they do not go

much. They participate in few formal activities. Most of their time is spent in hunting and fishing. The neighbors wisely prefer to leave them alone, so few visits are made to their home.

IV. THE PROPERTY

The property of the family consists of:

	Values
1. The House.	
This has one floor, which is divided into a kitchen, a living room, and two bedrooms. It was built in 1909. Value at local reproduction prices	\$150.00
2. Farm Buildings.	
One barn, one pig-pen, one hay barn	250.00
3. Farm Land.	
The family owns 400 acres of land, all of which is clear of debt. The whole farm was a gift from Robert's father. It is valued at \$5 per acre	2,000.00
4. Money.	
The wife admitted that they had put away some money for Albert's education	150.00
5. Stock.	
This consists of : one horse, four mules over two years of age, two cows, one calf, five sows and gilts, eight pigs, fifteen chickens and one bird dog	600.00
6. Tools and Equipment.	
These include: a plow, a wagon, two hoes, an axe, a hammer, a hatchet, a file, a saddle, two shovels, two sets of harness, a grindstone, a handsaw, a drag, forks, a scythe, a sickle, a hay rack, a ladder and three fish gigs. Estimated replacement value	77.00
7. Household Furnishings and Personal Property.	
Value	100.00
Grand total value of the property against which there are no debts	\$3,327.00

V. THE WORK OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

All members excepting Robert and Albert share in the heavy work of the farm. The wife takes the major responsibility for directing all the work including the work in the fields. Calsie, Mary, and Mark do the feeding and care for the stock, while the wife attends to the heavy chores, such as milking, feeding the pigs, household duties and other farm tasks. Since the older boys left home and Robert has been sickly, the major responsibility rests upon the wife and Mark.

During the summer the work begins at 4 a.m. and ends at 8 p.m. In the winter it begins at 5 a.m. and ends at 7 p.m.

There are no members of the family engaged in supplementary occupations.

VI. THE FOOD AND FOOD HABITS

The family diet is very simple, but adequate to maintain the members in good health. There are no special feasts during the year. As in other Highland families the diet is composed chiefly of pork, corn meal, sour milk, butter, eggs, some chicken, and a few vegetables and fruits. The chief vegetables are turnips, potatoes, dry and green onions, cabbage, beans, peas, and corn. Strawberries and blackberries form a considerable part of the fruit diet. Some fresh fish and wild game is added when available. Sorghum molasses is used for "sweetin'." Nuts are consumed when available.

This family eats three meals a day. Breakfast which usually consists of corn bread or corn mush, sorghum and some form of pork is at 6.30 a.m. The beverage is coffee or sour milk. Lunch is eaten about 12.30 p.m. and is a heavy meal. It generally includes corn bread, pork, fish, or game, sweet potatoes, turnips and other vegetables. Coffee, fruit, and cake are added. Dinner is generally eaten between 5 and 6 p.m. and is a light meal. Corn bread, greens, left overs from lunch, coffee and cake are the chief foods. Whiskey is consumed in small quantities by Robert. Chewing-tobacco is

used by all members of the family. The family spends an average of forty-five minutes at each meal. The members of the family have their regular seats at the table. Food is passed in large dishes. Oilcloth covers the table.

VII. THE HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The house is of a typical box type. The one floor is divided into four rooms: a kitchen, a living room, and two bedrooms. The kitchen is the only room heated. The other rooms must obtain their heat, if any, from the one open fireplace. The cooking is done over the same fireplace. One bedroom is used by Robert and his wife and their youngest son. The living room is used for sleeping purposes by Mark, Morris, and Albert. The two girls occupy the other bedroom. The parents have the following equipment in their bedroom: a pine bedstead, two chairs, a chest of drawers, and a stand. The second bedroom has one oak bedstead, three chairs, a small chest of drawers, some rugs, a mirror, and a trunk.

The walls in all the rooms have been covered with whitewash.

There are no toilet facilities in or outside the house. The back porch is used as a wash room.

The living room has two rocking-chairs, three ticks, two small tables, and two trunks.

The kitchen has a fireplace, a table, eight chairs and a cupboard. There are a few dishes and cups and some cooking utensils. A small amount of "silverware" is also included. The following is an inventory of the kitchen furnishings: one pot-hanger, two and-irons, one shovel, one cast iron kettle, one long-handled frying pan, two small kettles, two butcher knives, seven dinner knives, six spoons, eight forks, twelve dinner plates, five china bowls, eight glasses, six earthen jugs, nine lard pails, one two-gallon kerosene can. There are no kerosene lights for the house, but there is one lantern for use after dark.

The laundry is done outdoors, in the large iron kettle kept in the yard. There are two heavy flat irons and a home-made ironing

board. The family linens are four sheets, eight towels, eight patch-work quilts, and two table cloths.

VIII. THE CLOTHING

The main wearing apparel for men and boys is overalls. There were six pairs of these in the family, four caps, one hat, one Sunday suit for Robert and Albert, five sweaters, twelve men's shirts, thirty-six pairs of cotton stockings and five pairs of shoes. The clothing for the women is usually simple. There were six cotton dresses, four woolen dresses, two summer hats, two bloomers and vests, and six pairs of shoes.

IX. THE FAMILY BUDGET FOR 1932-33

A. Income for the year.	Kind	Money or Trade Credit	Total
1. Food produced and used at home			
Potatoes, 20 bu.	\$15.00	\$—	\$15.00
Sweet potatoes, 25 bu.	15.00		15.00
Turnips, 10 bu.	3.00		3.00
Dry onions, 8 bu.	8.00		8.00
Cabbage (kraut) 30 gals.	7.00		7.00
Green onions, 4 bu.	3.00		3.00
Beans, 10 bu.	5.00		5.00
Peas (shell), 6 bu.	3.60		3.60
Corn (sweet), 4 bu.	2.00		2.00
Strawberries, 2 bu.	2.00		2.00
Blackberries, 2 bu.	2.00		2.00
Milk, 1400 qts.	56.00		56.00
Butter, 100 lbs.	18.00		18.00
Eggs, 25 doz.	1.75		1.75
Chickens, 20 lbs.	1.40		1.40
Pork, 800 lbs.	48.00		48.00
Cornmeal, 1200 lbs.	12.00		12.00
Nuts, 8 bu.	4.00		4.00
Sorghum, 15 gals.	7.50		7.50
2. Rent of house or homestead	30.00		30.00
3. Fuel	20.00		20.00
4. Money or Trade Credits			
Sale of 4 bales of cotton at \$30....	—	120.00	120.00
Sale of 2 chickens	—	.75	.75
Sale of 1 bu. nuts	—	.50	.50
Sale of ginseng roots	—	15.00	15.00
Credit on taxes for road work	—	92.00	92.00
Total income .....\$264.25		\$228.25	\$492.50

B. Expenses for the year	Kind	Money or Trade Credit	Total
1. Food purchased for home consumption			
Sugar, 200 lbs.	\$—	\$10.00	\$10.00
Coffee, 100 lbs.	—	12.00	12.00
Extracts, 5 boxes	—	.50	.50
Salt, 300 lbs.	—	3.00	3.00
Soda, 20 boxes	—	1.50	1.50
Lye and soap, 10 cans	—	2.00	2.00
Matches, 20 boxes	—	1.00	1.00
Vinegar, 4 gals.	—	2.00	2.00
Flour, 800 lbs.	—	15.00	15.00
Cookies	—	2.00	2.00
2. Food produced for home consumption	214.25		214.25
3. Clothing purchased		31.75	31.75
4. Rent and fuel	50.00	1.25	51.25
5. All other expenses			
Doctor and medicines	—	5.00	5.00
Books and supplies	—	1.00	1.00
Newspapers	—	.25	.25
Benevolences	—	.25	.25
Gifts	—	2.00	2.00
Stationery and postage	—	2.50	2.50
Barber, toilet articles	—	1.00	1.00
Candy, gum, toys	—	3.00	3.00
Tobacco	—	4.00	4.00
Taxes	—	92.00	92.00
Total expense	\$264.25	\$193.00	\$457.25

C. Summary of income and expenses

Income	\$264.25	\$228.25	\$492.50
Expense	264.25	193.00	457.25
Profit put in family saving	\$—	\$35.25	\$35.25

X. SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

This is a problem family. Living in the isolated hills among a relatively peaceful group of people, the family has caused a good deal of unrest and general trouble. In spite of this trouble the economic condition of the family is sufficient to maintain it and show some savings from operations. The family purchases few goods. The mobility of its members is somewhat higher than that of other Highland families. Life is very informal and the home is the center of familialistic enterprises. The family has been able to keep itself away from the "law" and to continue its existence without aid of any sort.

The chief factor which has held this group together, checked the members, and kept the head of the family in some kind of control, has been the strong family tradition. The head of the family respected his father and was willing to give up some of his own "pranks" and force his sons to fit into the community "ways of living," in order that the community would continue to respect his family name. The fact that the family has been isolated and allowed complete freedom and independence, within its own home, has enabled its members to shut themselves off from other individuals and groups, when they were likely to get into serious trouble. If they could not have retired to their home when they became involved in difficulties, serious consequences might have followed. Had the head of the household lived in an urban community, with his violent temper and ready hands, he would have been in jail most of the time, and his acts would have been much more serious in their nature. The family would have suffered and probably would have been public charges. The three major factors protecting this problem family and maintaining the family solidarity, in spite of conflicts with the group, have thus been the following: (1) economic self-sufficiency, (2) control of conduct by the force of family tradition and community pressure, (3) socio-geographic isolation.

Although this family in its present environment is a problem family for the Highland community, it is not considered a serious menace to the community.

CHAPTER XIV

A Tenant Problem Family in the Arkansas Ozarks¹

I. INTRODUCTION

This family is a case in which the head of the family was a notorious sexual offender, but the situation was controlled without disrupting the family as an economic or social unit.

The farm on which the family resides is located one mile from Horseneck. In 1932-33, of 180 acres rented, twelve were in corn, twenty in cotton, eight in oats, and four in garden. Cultivated land and pasture accounted for forty-eight acres and the remaining 130 were in timber and waste land. The homestead comprises about a quarter of an acre, located at the foot of a high hill which rises about 900 feet above sea level. The many small springs found on the farm furnish an abundant water supply. Most of the uncultivated land is in its second growth pine and white oak.

The soil of the cultivated land is composed of a fine sandy loam from eight to ten inches thick.

The family does its trading at Horseneck but the nearest railroad is nine miles away at Lovetown. The roads from this home to Horseneck are mountain trails. For reasons presented later, representatives of this family seldom go to town.

II. THE FAMILY

This family consists of husband and wife and four children, or six members in all. No children have left home.

1. Booth, the farm operator, married at 23, age 35, was born in Izard County.

¹ Information collected by M. E. Frampton during the year 1932-33.

2. Cona, Booth's wife, married at 20 years of age, age 32, was also born in the county.
3. Hazel, their first daughter, age 11, was born here.
4. Art, their first son, age 9, born here.
5. Tray, their second son, age 7, born here.
6. Coy, their third son, age 3, born here.

Booth, the head of the household is a fine physical specimen of man, 6 feet 2 inches tall and weighing about 195 pounds. Cona, his wife, is pretty but frail. She attributes her frailness to over-work on the farm. The children are all well and normal. The second boy needs his tonsils removed. Cona wishes to accept the offer of the local church to pay for this operation, but Booth refuses to accept charity.

The parents completed the sixth grade in school. Hazel is in the fourth grade and Art in the third. The other children do not attend school. The older children attended school thirty-two weeks during the year 1932-33. All the children are exceptionally bright.

The family is not thought well of in the community, but is tolerated for the sake of Cona and for other reasons. Cona is well-liked by the neighbors. Members of several of the most important families of the community were involved with Booth. Cona has known of the community feeling against her husband, but has been friendly with all the women with whom Booth has had relations. Booth, who is physically very attractive to women, served in the World War and returned an able-bodied hero. He soon was alleged to be the father of at least three illegitimate children. These children now live in the homes of other families in the community. The community credits Booth with being "true" to his wife for the first year after his return. They also believe that he is fond of his children. His chief trouble is attributed to the fact that he was ruined "by the war and the city women."

In 1931 a father of three children who lived not far from the home of Booth, believed that he discovered that Booth had been intimate with his wife. The neighbors had known it for a long

time, but had done nothing about it. The older men laughed, the women talked, and others said it would work out. The husband of the woman sent word he would shoot Booth on sight. The people then saw that trouble was about and that a feud might be started. Booth was afraid to go to town for anything. He sent his cotton and produce by his brother-in-law. One night a group of men came to Booth's house with a "warning." Booth admitted the paternity of the child and pledged himself to stay home with his "woman" or leave the community. The men left, satisfied that this would settle the matter. Cona had known of her husband's unfaithfulness for some time, but had kept it to herself for the sake of the family. Her brother is on the best of terms with Booth and there seems to be no family trouble over the matter. The "warning" has worked and at present Booth stays home and has not troubled any of the women of the area. Some of the old folks say "he has cooled down" now. Some think he has been converted from his evil ways. Others say he is a natural "woods colt" and should be watched carefully.

Booth makes a bare existence from the farm. He lives on property owned by a non-resident. This person, who inherited the land, lives in Ohio. Booth gets the use of the land for paying the taxes. He has been able to feed, clothe, and keep his family supplied with the necessities of life, in spite of his moral delinquencies. He has never received relief or public aid of any kind.

III. THE HISTORY AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE FAMILY

Booth was born in Horseneck in 1901, the seventh child in a family of nine. His father migrated to Izard county from Tennessee about 1870. His ancestors came from the Scotch-Irish reservoir in Pennsylvania early in the 19th century. Little is known about Booth's father except that he was a poor share-cropper, honest, but burdened with a large family and heavy debts.

Cona, Booth's wife, comes from one of the best Highland families. Her Irish father, John, migrated from Tennessee in

1875, and built a saw mill at the mouth of Lafferty's creek. He was highly respected in the community.

The family has had some difficult social and moral problems to face, as the story of Booth's delinquencies shows. However, on the economic side they have not been in dire need for any physical necessities. They have been snubbed socially by some members of the community, but there are indications that if Booth goes "straight" this social isolation will not last long. At present the family continues its isolated and self-sufficing existence in its mountain home. Errors involving the traditional sins of man are considered personal matters, to be settled among those whom they concern and their families.

The family is also deeply religious, Booth himself has been several times lately at revivals "gettin' religion." All the children are members of the church and Sunday school and the wife has been an active worker in the church. The family stoutly defends the father and the older girl is ready to fight anyone who makes remarks against him. A Bible and several hymn books are in the home. The family sings hymns and ballads around the stove on Sunday evening. No Grace is said at meals.

The parents seem interested in the education of their children. Booth wishes to send them to college, but Cona does not commit herself. The neighbors think it will ruin the children, just as the war experience spoiled Booth.

Booth likes to play ball and he plays well, but since his difficulties with the community he has not been playing in town. He now does a great deal of hunting. The family has not been to any social gatherings of late because of the trouble. According to community tradition this social isolation will soon wear away if Booth heeds the "warning." The father and mother play group games with the children and Booth often plays ball with the boys. Relations between the father and the children seem to be unusually wholesome. The family enjoys group singing and produces fairly good music. This family apparently will take its normal place in the social life of the community when the stigma of Booth's actions has worn away.

IV. THE PROPERTY

The property of the family consists of:

	Values
1. The House.	
The house has one floor, which is divided into a kitchen, living room and two bedrooms. It is a typical box house built in 1905. There are no modern improvements. It belongs to the farm owner and is valued at replacement prices at \$250.00. It forms no part of Booth's property.	
2. Farm Buildings.	
One barn, one pig pen and one hay barn, all the property of the owner. Value \$100.00.	
3. Farm Land.	
The family uses 180 acres of farm land valued at \$10 per acre, or \$1,800, for which they pay \$102 taxes a year.	
4. Money.	
Booth has about \$50 in savings for emergencies. \$ 50.00	
5. Stock.	
One horse, two mules, six cows, twenty pigs, fifty chickens, four bee hives, and two bird dogs	500.00
6. Miscellaneous Small Tools and Equipment.	
Value	10.00
7. Household Furnishings and Personal Property.	
Value	50.00
Grand total value of the family property	\$610.00
(There are no debts.)	

V. THE WORK OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

Booth is not a very diligent worker, but he keeps the farm going. The wife does more than her share of the farm work as well as all the household duties. The eleven-year old girl helps with the light chores of the farm. Work begins early and lasts until after dark. No supplementary occupations were carried on by the family.

VI. THE FOOD AND FOOD HABITS

This family has a simple, economical diet, sufficient to maintain its members in good health. It varies somewhat from that of the other Highland families owing to Booth's war experiences and his urban sojourn. Pork is the chief meat. Chicken, fish, and game are eaten. Milk, butter, and eggs are also on the diet in small amounts. The main vegetables are potatoes, sweet potatoes, beets, dry onions, cabbage (kraut), tomatoes, shell beans, corn, and peas. Sorghum, honey, and sugar are the staple "sweetin's." Some wild berries are found on the table. Fruits, bananas, oranges, berries, crackers, chocolate, cocoa, tea, and coffee are purchased occasionally.

The family eats three meals a day. Breakfast at 6 a.m. consists of cornbread, pork, and sometimes store cereals. Oranges are sometimes eaten at this meal. Lunch is at noon and is very heavy. Cornmeal, sweet potatoes, pork, beef, fish or game, coffee and berries or cake are the common foods for this meal. Dinner is eaten about 6 p.m. and is not as heavy as the other meals. Cornbread, various kinds of pastry, meat leftovers, and coffee are the main items. The family spends about forty-five minutes at each meal.

VII. THE HOUSE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The house of four rooms—a kitchen, a living room, two bedrooms, and two porches—has only one room heated. The living room and one bedroom, which adjoin the kitchen, are partially heated by a wood stove in the kitchen. The cooking is also done on the stove. One bedroom is used by Booth and Cona and the other by the children. The first bedroom has an iron bed, two straight chairs, one rocking-chair, a trunk, a lamp stand, and a chest of drawers. The other bedroom has two single beds and a cot, a dresser, three chairs, and a bookcase. The walls of the home are papered with magazine pictures and catalog prints. The living room has two rocking-chairs, a table, two footstools, a lampstand, a cot, and two trunks covered with quilts. Several war relics are to be found on the table and on the walls. The kitchen is well

furnished for a Highland home. It contains a table and six chairs, a home-made cupboard, and a wash stand with drain. The other kitchen furnishings include: one wood stove, two cast iron kettles, one frying pan, three small pans for cooking, one knife, twelve dinner plates, twelve spoons, twelve forks, twelve dinner knives, six china bowls, two platters, twelve glasses, four lard pails, four jugs and one five-gallon kerosene can.

Lighting is by kerosene lamps, of which there are four in the house. The laundry is done outdoors in the large kettle. A fine new set of flat irons and a store ironing board are the prize possessions of Cona. The family linen consists of several cheap hand towels, a few bath towels, and three table cloths. Cona has made six fine quilts for the trunks and beds.

Flowers and shrubs are to be found in the yard. An outdoor toilet has been built by Booth for the use of the family.

VIII. THE CLOTHING

This family usually wears overalls, but has more purchased clothing than most other Highland families. They have five pairs of overalls, two overcoats, two suits, six hats, two caps, four shirts, five pairs of silk stockings, two pairs of shoes, one pair of boots, and twelve neckties.

The women and girls wear overalls at home. Cona has two silk dresses, one cotton and one woolen dress, two hats, four bloomers, two petticoats, three pairs of silk stockings, four pairs of cotton stockings, two pairs of shoes, and several handkerchiefs. The daughter had one Sunday dress and a pair of shoes.

IX. THE FAMILY BUDGET FOR 1932-33

A. Income for the year	Kind	Money or Trade Credit	Total
1. Food produced and used at home			
Potatoes, 20 bu.	\$20.00	\$—	\$20.00
Sweet potatoes, 18 bu.	13.50	—	13.50
Beets, 2 bu.	2.00	—	2.00
Dry onions, 3 bu.	3.00	—	3.00
Cabbage (kraut), 20 gals	5.00	—	5.00
Tomatoes, 1 bu.	6.00	—	6.00
Shell beans, 2 bu.	2.00	—	2.00

	Kind	Money or Trade Credit	Total
Corn, 4 bu.	2.00		2.00
Peas, 2 bu.	1.50		1.50
Blackberries, 3 bu.	2.00		2.00
Milk, 600 qts.	30.00		30.00
Butter, 104 lbs.	20.00		20.00
Eggs, 300 doz.	35.00		35.00
Chickens, 40 lbs.	3.00		3.00
Honey, 20 gals.	9.50		9.50
Sorghum, 15 gals.	7.50	—	7.50
Fish, 50 lbs.	5.00	—	5.00
Pork, 400 lbs.	24.00	—	24.00
Cornmeal, 1300 lbs.	13.00	—	13.00
2. Rent on house or homestead	50.00	—	50.00
3. Fuel	20.00	—	20.00
4. Money or Trade Credits			
Sale of 10 bales of cotton at \$30.00	—	300.00	300.00
Sale of 40 gals. of cream	—	20.00	20.00
Sale of 8 bu. of peanuts	—	6.00	6.00
Sale of 2 bu. of tomatoes	—	3.01	3.01
Total income	\$274.00	\$329.01	\$603.01

B. Expenses for the year

I. Food purchased for home consumption

Sugar, 250 lbs.	\$	13.00	\$13.00
Sugar (c), 3 boxes	—	.25	.25
Coffee, 80 lbs.	—	12.00	12.00
Salt, 200 lbs.	—	2.50	2.50
Soda, 25 boxes	—	1.25	1.25
Soap, 104 bars	—	3.00	3.00
Matches, 52 boxes	—	1.56	1.56
White flour, 200 lbs.	—	4.00	4.00
Cornflakes, 40 boxes	—	4.00	4.00
Oranges, 20 doz.	—	5.00	5.00
Bananas, 2 doz.	—	.25	.25
Vinegar, 12 gals.	—	1.00	1.00
Tea, 2 lbs.	—	.75	.75
Cocoa, 2 boxes	—	.20	.20
Chocolate, 3 bars	—	.20	.20
Spices, 2 boxes	—	.20	.20
Cookies and crackers, 5 boxes	—	1.00	1.00
Raisins, 5 boxes	—	.75	.75
2. Food consumed for home consumption	204.00		204.00
3. Clothing purchased	—	38.50	38.50
4. Rent and fuel	70.00	1.00	71.00
5. All other expenses			
Doctor's fees and medicines	—	12.00	12.00
Books and papers	—	15.00	15.00
Gifts	—	15.00	15.00
Stationery and postage	—	4.80	4.80
Barber, cosmetics	—	8.00	8.00
Tobacco	—	20.00	20.00
Taxes (as rent)	—	102.00	102.00
Total expense	\$274.00	\$276.21	\$541.21

C. Summary of income and expense for the year

	Kind	Money or Trade Credit	Total
Income	\$274.00	\$329.01	\$603.01
Expense	274.00	267.21	541.21
Profit	\$—	\$61.80	\$61.80

The profit was distributed as follows: A mule was purchased for \$40 and the brother-in-law was lent \$20, leaving \$1.80 as cash on hand.

X. SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

This has been a problem family because the head continued to disregard the sex mores of the group. Although the offenses were serious, they have not yet caused the community to expel this family. The family has retreated within itself for a little while on account of severe danger to the head, but it is not broken nor is it suffering economically. The family is still fulfilling the necessary social and economic functions. In fact, the material standard of living of this family, measured in terms of purchased goods, is somewhat higher than that of other families in the area.

The farm and system of living enable Booth to make a living for his family and to maintain it as a social and economic unit, in spite of his moral delinquency. This family located in an urban area would likely have extreme difficulty in maintaining its integrity and independence from the relief agencies, the social workers, and perhaps the law. Booth would probably lose his job and the family would be thrown on relief.

The community mores have literally forced Booth to mend his ways, at least for the present. The community has been tolerant enough to give him an opportunity to lead what they consider a more normal life, but they tell him frankly that further transgressions of the mores of the group will lead to trouble. The community mores are sufficient law for him at present. He is entrenched in the community, and to have to leave would cause him considerable disruption. The community mores have not condemned his acts to such an extent as to require or force his wife to leave him or to break up the family. On the contrary, they praise Cona's attitude. They blame the war and "city ideas" for

his trouble and think he will soon be under control. The community is eager to have the unity and solidarity of the family maintained. An urban family in a similar situation would quite likely be broken by desertion, divorce, separation, or more complete isolation. Sex crimes of more serious consequences might have been the result of the desertion of the father from the family. Here in this community the problem has been understood, a working remedy has been applied, and the family saved, at least for the present.

The voluntary isolation which Booth adopts has been a most effective factor in reuniting the family, increasing its economic production and making the repetition of the former violations of mores less likely. Thus the two chief factors making for physical and moral well-being of this Highland family have been: (1) possibility of voluntary isolation, both social and geographic, together with the possibility of securing a living for the family under such conditions; and (2) strong sex mores which enforce a rigid standard and apply rather direct punishments for their violation. These remedies have as their first concern, the maintenance of the family as a socio-economic unit and the doing away with flagrant violations of the mores. The individual freedom of the parents is of secondary consequence.

As yet no head of the family has been picked to succeed Booth. According to custom if Booth fails in his functions, his wife Cona will be the head and heir until a son of sufficient social background reaches maturity.

CHAPTER XV

Strong Family Social Organization

The families studied are living under a semi-self-sufficing social system in a submarginal agrarian area of the Highlands of the Arkansas Ozarks. They are about halfway between the "simple but prosperous" and the "complex but prosperous" families described by Frédéric Le Play. They live in comparatively accessible parts of the Highland districts: near the mouths of creeks, along mountain trails, in distant coves, and on hillsides. The basis of their social organization is an uncodified variety of the stem-family. Customarily one son is chosen to maintain the home or stem. The others stay about the homestead or go as they wish, either to neighboring farms or to the lowlands and cities. During the depression many who were once away or who would have migrated to the lowlands have remained in the hills or near the parental home. The following are some chief characteristics of their family:

1. The families are more stable than those in other areas of commercial agriculture or urban pursuits. This is shown by their mores, their social organization, their stem-family type, their self-sufficiency, and their whole mode of life.
2. The children are, as far as possible, kept on the homestead in close geographic proximity even after marriage. This results in a strengthening and integration of the family bonds. The enlarging family circle is extended to include relatives within the family group. When necessary, the children migrate to the lowlands and become a part of the commercial world.
3. The families are strong collective units in which the emphasis is upon the collective enterprises of the family rather than the individualistic enterprises of its members.
4. There is recognition of a strong family authority which is

usually invested in the husband or the wife and which acts as a disciplinary force in the functioning of the family.

5. The work of the family is divided among its members in accordance with their capacity to carry on various labors. All members of the family function as partners in the farm enterprise, and family co-operation is an essential prerequisite to membership in the unit. However, work is not difficult because of the numbers available to carry on the various tasks, and because the primary aim of life is to raise only enough to satisfy their simple standard of living.

6. The birth rate is high and the population is increasing. Sufficient offspring are produced to maintain the family organization and to supply other rural and urban areas. Each family ably fulfills the important function of procreation. This is contrary to the practice of the present small commercialized family in America. In the Highlands it is a sign of the strength of the family over the individualistic idea.

7. The families have sufficient goods for food, clothing, and shelter of a type but the material standards of living are very low. Relatively, the satisfactions of life are social and not material, in contrast with those of our urban and commercial populations.

8. The amounts of sales of products and of purchased goods are very small. The chief money expenditures are for extra food, for clothing, for health services, and for a few tools which the people cannot or do not produce at home.

9. The families are operating efficiently to keep their members from suffering for subsistence and from the dissatisfactions of psycho-social isolation. Many of the family controls also operate to prevent or minimize misdemeanors which in more urban and less familialistic societies would result in interference in the home by the law, the courts, the social workers, or other extra-family agencies of a public or semi-public nature.

10. The formal collective enterprises of these families are few in number and unimportant. The psycho-social equipment of the members, their mores, manners, habits, moral and religious beliefs, and their general outlook on life are centered in the home and

family. These families have few organizations competing with them in the education of the younger generation.

11. Family metabolism and the trend toward the division of the patrimonial estate are extremely slow. The families preserve or attempt to guarantee the continuity of the organization by selecting the heir who is next head to succeed the present head upon his death. Selection is not by any formal system such as primogeniture, but by mutual consent of all, with the final decision resting in the hands of the father. Most often the heir lives with the parental family and secures his training by informal methods. This gives a continuity to the families because it generally provides an heir to the family, who is fitted by character and training to carry on the duties involved in family tradition.

12. The mobility of the families is low. They seldom migrate, except when a member goes off to join the commercial world. Local migration is only for short distances. These families are attached by sentiment to the parental homestead.

13. The family groups are relatively closed and the occupational mobility is extremely low. Members move out into the urban or commercial world and a few return. However, few not born in the locality ever come there or adopt the Highland social organization.

14. The social organization guarantees a relative amount of peace and stability to all members of the community and aid for those who need it. This aid has been developed by the following methods :

- a. A system of subventions for needy families.
- b. A landlord-tenant relationship which develops a sensitivity on the part of the owner to the needs of the tenant. This landlord's responsibility extends to the poorest families of the group.
- c. A system of moral and religious codes which hold the prosperous owners responsible for the less prosperous and more needy families.

15. These families therefore voluntarily contribute virtually nothing to the relief loads of federal, state, and local agencies.

Charity and relief for both families and individuals are found within the group. The families also cause very little difficulty to public agencies from the standpoint of moral or other misdemeanors and anti-social acts.

16. The families contribute relatively little to the agricultural surplus of the nation. They are removed from the area of commercialized agriculture and sell very little produce.

17. These families contribute nothing to class warfare such as that between labor and capital. Very little social stratification is found and there is no problem of employer-employee relationship.

A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIAL TYPE

The preceding information is sterile unless the student seeking to understand fundamental social processes can use these facts to perceive clearly the deep underlying social forces which give these families and this community its unique quality.

The evidence presented in the foregoing analysis shows that the Highlanders possess fundamental forms of social relationship different at least in a relative sense from those of other rural and urban families and communities. All this concerns their material standard of living, beliefs, religion, mores, village and hamlet relations, natural solidarity, individuality of members, relation to community interests, attitude toward property, parent-child relationship and economic self-sufficiency. These differences can be seen readily when one compares the system of living of the families in the Highland community with other types of life in America. There are of course a great many intermediate types between the clear-cut Highland family, the rural (plains) family, the "rurban" family, and the urban family. Usually, but not always, the extent of their differences may be measured by the degree of ruralization or urbanization. For example, the farm family in a highly commercialized area of the United States is a variety of the intermediate type; so also is the Highland family, and the family found in other marginal areas more affected by urban influences. As a result of the extensive urbanization of the whole country these

families have lost many of the traits of the pure rural and isolated families, but are not yet fully urbanized. This recognition of intermediate types should not hinder our analysis of the more important fundamental differences between the pure rural and the urban families.

For the sake of our analysis we divide societies conceptually into two classes, following the classical work of Ferdinand Tönnies in his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*.

Gemeinschaft phases of society are based upon maternal love, sex instinct, and blood kinship. These direct bonds, when strong, tend to regulate the other activities of life, in so far as these other activities do not through force of circumstances destroy the original social bonds. *Gesellschaft* phases of society are based upon contractual economic relationships of a material sort. In the *Gemeinschaft* the social organization is paramount and in the *Gesellschaft* the economic gain is of greater significance. All societies have both *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* phases but some emphasize the first, others emphasize the second. Thus one society is *Gemeinschaft* or mechanistic (in Durkheim's terminology) and another is *Gesellschaft* or organic (in Durkheim's terminology again). In the first, the social bonds are based upon psychological understanding, such as occurs when persons have the same or almost identical social heritages. In the second, persons of different social heritages are bound to each other by a calculation of advantages or by the fact that each is an essential part in a unit where there is vast division of labor in the production of goods for living. In the first or self-sufficient type, the families do not need each other, but nevertheless are bound together by mutual understanding; in the second, or commercialized, the families and individuals need each other but are often antagonistic because there is no common understanding. Other ties than these natural bonds listed by Tönnies of course exist. These may be indirect bonds. The pleasures enjoyed by the family, customs, especially dear or helpful memories—these form a part of the fabric of supplementary social bonds. Tönnies makes the natural bonds fundamental social forces in the development of the *Gemeinschaft*. The relative lack

of these and the substitution of other social forces results in the *Gesellschaft*. The activities or occupation common to each type may be outlined as follows: to *Gemeinschaft* belong the domestic arts and agriculture; to *Gesellschaft*, commerce, industry, and science. For *Gemeinschaft*, family life, village life, and city life are characterized by common will, custom and organized religion centering in the church or the family. For *Gesellschaft*, city life with its conventions, national life with its politics, and international intercourse with its cosmopolitanism are dominant traits.²

The Highland families belong in the *Gemeinschaft* classification. A clear understanding of these types of bonds shows how this Ozark social structure is a union of individuals with an "organic will," with solidarity finding its roots in "the natural forces of consanguinity," and with a law which is primarily familialistic—maintains a strong social life which compensates, at least in part, for the lack of the goods and utilities found in a higher material standard of living. The fundamental social forces guaranteeing Highland stability also protect its members from poverty, give the people a reasonable amount of happiness, provide for the biological and economic perpetuity of the family in terms of children and property, and maintain an almost impregnable wall of isolation from urban mores, ideas, and technique.

As long as men think and regard "society"—that is to say, their clan or their polis, their church or their commonwealth—as real, as truly existing; nay, when they even think of it as being alive, as a mystical body, a supernatural person—so long they will not feel themselves as its masters; they will not be likely to attempt using it as a mere tool, as a machine for promoting their own interests; they will look upon it rather with awe and humility than with a sense of their own interest and superiority. In consequence of feelings of this kind, they even forget their own authorship—

² For a comparison of these ideas, see F. Le Play, *Les ouvriers européens*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, ch. 2, and also the work of R. Pinot, "La classification des espèces de la famille établie par Le Play, est-elle exact?" in *Société Intern. Science Sociale, Brochure de Propagande*, pp. 44-64; Tönnies, F., *Gemeinschaft*, 3rd ed., 1920, pp. 7, 207-08, et *passim*; Durkheim, E., *On the Division of Labor*, Tr. by G. Simpson, N. Y., 1933.

which, as a rule, will indeed be an ideal only; they will feel and think themselves, not creators, but creatures of their own corporations.³

This type of organization Tönnies places in contradistinction to that which conceives the group as a mere tool, "as nothing but an instrument for their private ends." Tönnies concluded that the present state, aided by nominalistic concepts, is primarily a society in which nominalism and individualism are the chief elements, the state being largely administered for the benefit of a majority or a minority, with the future interests of the race forgotten. He sees a new relationship on the horizon, though he does not explain just how near we are to it, what its specific characteristics are, or how we are to achieve it. He says:

An organic commonwealth . . . which, though not sanctioned by any religious idea, and not claiming any supernatural dignity, still, as a product of human reason and conscious will, may be considered real in a higher sense than those products, as long as they are conceived as mere instruments serving the interests and objects of private individuals.⁴

The most important characteristic difference which exists between this familistic society of the Ozark Highlands and the urban society from which the utility and Engelian hypotheses arise, is to be found in the conception which the individual has of the group and his relationship to it. The following differences appear important:

<i>Gesellschaft</i> (Contractual and Commercial)	<i>Gemeinschaft</i> (Familistic and more self-sufficing)
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I. SPECIFIC TRANSACTIONS

In contractual society, the relationships between parties are distinctly limited to specific

In familistic society, the specific transactions are always bigger and wider. The nature of

³ Tönnies, F., "The Present Problems of Social Structure," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. X, No. 5, p. 579, *et seq.*, 1905.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 588.

Gesellschaft
(Contractual)

transactions. The nature of the relations and their effect on the group are or may be irrelevant.

Gemeinschaft
(Familistic)

the relationships, and their influence on the group, are always considered as factors in the transactions.

II. CONTENT OF RELATIONSHIPS

In contractual societies, the obligation of the individual is limited to the terms of the contract. The burden of proof of the individual's responsibility to the group and the regulations it imposes rests with the group, and not with the individual. The content of the relationships is specific and limited.

In familialistic societies the content of relationships is unlimited and unspecified. It is not, however, absolute. It is limited in that the burden of proof for one who wishes or desires to escape this responsibility to the family and to the group rests with him. He must be able to give satisfactory reasons and proofs why he should escape the normal obligations which the group imposes (i.e. family, church, and state responsibilities). These responsibilities can be set aside only in case of a specifically higher obligation. In a group such as that of the Ozark Highlanders, with few outside contracts, obligations other than family needs are few.

III. PERSONALITY AND INTERESTS

Here the individual considers society a means to an end. That end may be whatever desires, interests, and urges the majority or minority may have. There is no fusion of the individual will with the social will. The concept of personality remains nominalistic and individualistic.

Here individualism has quite a different meaning from that which the outsider gives to it. The Highlander is not free from his own social structure; it is rather a fusion of his personality and interests with those of the group. This is not subordination of his personality, neither is it altruism. It is a fusion of his will with the will of the group or community.

In the *Gemeinschaft* the group has a life of its own, superior to that of its temporary members. The group is an end in itself. In the *Gesellschaft* the group is merely a means to an end. In the *Gemeinschaft* we have faith, customs, natural solidarity, common ownership of property, and a common will. In the *Gesellschaft* we have doctrine, public opinion, fashion, contractual solidarity, private property, and individual will.

Confusion often arises as to the relationship of the *Gemeinschaft* or the *Gesellschaft* and involuntary or voluntary relationships. While there exists some connection between voluntary relationships and the *Gemeinschaft*, involuntary and the *Gesellschaft*, there are not sufficient facts to posit a high degree of connection. In both types of societies we find both types of relationships in varying degrees. In the Ozark Highland group the involuntary relationships seem to remain longer than in the *Gesellschaft* group. But when this is seen from the point of view of the Highlander and not the outsider, the relationships here are more voluntary and extend over a longer period of time in the life history of the individual than in urban societies. Thus the Highlander is not crushed by the weight of custom, since he gets his enjoyment out of living and helping to carry on this traditional life.

In the following summary of the chief elements of this simple familistic society, we will discover, by contrast with urban societies, the chief differences between these two types of social relationship and will specify the traits of these Highland families.

The first trait, in contrast with the urban or semi-urban family, is the fact that the marriage union, aided by romantic love, is more stable and integrated among the families in this *Gemeinschaft*, than among those of the urban groups. The almost complete absence of divorce in the area, the tolerance of problem families by the community, and the willingness of members of the family to remain with the family, in spite of difficult conditions, in order to keep the family intact, is sufficient evidence of a more stable union. There were in 1932-33 no cases of separation or desertion.

Thus without regard to the form of the family, its most conspicuous trait is strength over the individual.

These Highland families have kept their children close to the family unit longer than have the urban families. This normally results in an enlarging of the family to include several married sons or daughters and their families. These families live either in the parental home or in close geographic proximity. Such a situation does not exist to such a marked extent in urban communities or in commercialized agricultural communities. The bond between parents and children is broken more often and more readily, and children have more "psychological" freedom to leave the parental home to establish themselves elsewhere. The outstanding morphological trait of this highly solidaristic community is the great "integrative" power which has bound parents, children, and relatives in a unified, enduring family group. The city family and some families engaged in commercialized agriculture offer striking contrasts. Thus the form of the family which Le Play has called "stem" derives its special character from its strength and solidarity rather than from its structure.

These bonds are more numerous and stronger among the Highland families than among many other groups of rural and urban people. This Highland community is similar to the "cumulative" social group described by Sorokin.⁵ The social bonds are by no means equal in their power of control, and kinship usually binds more closely and more intensively than territorial proximity. Geographic isolation is one of the most important elements in maintaining the purity of the mores of these families, and in protecting them from the influence of urban individualism. This isolation is a genuine defense mechanism though it may not be a wholly conscious one.

The social isolation of these families from other families and communities is quite a different type of isolation from that of the urban family or community. The members of the Highland community think and act much less individually and more collec-

⁵ Sorokin, P. A., Zimmerman, C. C., and Galpin, C. J., *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, Ch. 6, Univ. of Minn. Press, St. Paul, 1930.

tively than the urban group; this in spite of the greater emphasis on formal collectivities in the city. Their independence and the "mutual fusion of their personalities" in the family are not antagonistic elements in their social order. The action of the Highland man as a member of the group appears to him a voluntary movement. He is part of the group and responsible for it. He identifies his will with the will of the group. Thus his independence in his own group is really a fusion. For him the aims and purposes of the group are his aims and his purposes. It must be kept clearly in mind that he functions for his group only. Place him in another social grouping and you find the opposite reaction.

In the urban family social and geographic isolation of the Highland family type is not possible. Radio, telephone, newspapers, means of communication, the proximity of individuals and groups, develop a wholly different form of social and geographic isolation. The urban individual cannot segregate himself from contacts unless he does it within himself. Thus his reserve or polish, if he has such, cuts him off from everyone. Any joint action is for him a matter of choice and becomes, in the end, oppressive if continued. As a result the family requires from him an increase of a type of action which he experiences *ad nauseum* in his daily life. The Highlander, separated from all but a small group, finds the joint action of that group or his family a thing to be looked forward to, an agreeable experience. Family life, which judged from the urban point of view is oppressive, is not so to the Highlander.

These characteristic differences in the types of isolation (urban, geographic, and social isolation) contain in their very constitution the essential elements which have been effective in opening the urban family, on the one hand, to destructive social forces, and in fortifying the Highland family against such powers.

The recognition of parental authority may appear, to many individualistically minded persons, to be suppression or even despotism; but it is not so felt by those who live in the Highland family. Obedience to this authority necessary for the well-being of the Highland family and community, becomes a pleasure, an

obligation, a part of life. This parental domination is seen clearly in all the case studies reported. The head of the family rules not autocratically, but rather sympathetically, and with complete understanding of all family problems. He becomes the strongest force in keeping unruly members in order, settling family disputes, and maintaining family and community peace and harmony. Antagonisms are of course to be found in these families, but they are the concern of all members of the family and are confined to the family or to the community. The families and the communities prefer to settle their problems without the aid of the "furriner's" law. By this parental authority most of the actions, decisions, and habits of these Highland people are controlled. The family assumes collective responsibility for the actions and offenses of its members. In the urban family, on the other hand, such collective responsibility is not to be found, and in its place we find more of the individual responsibility of the members.

Closely associated with parental authority is the matter of the territorial mobility of families and individual members. These Highland families are highly immobile. This permanence of home and family makes for unity and solidarity. Living in a community for a long time keeps the individual more directly responsible to the group and more directly under the regular pressure of the mores, which seek to maintain behavior sanctioned by the group.

The Highland family also differs from the urban and other rural families in the way it performs certain economic functions. Some are performed more effectively and efficiently than by any other family type. These families tend to become self-sufficing, procuring most of their economic needs from the land, offering a place of refuge in times of economic stress, and virtually eliminating poverty in terms of lack of physical necessities. They have been for their members the "incarnation of all the agencies that help the individual in the city to secure his present and future economic safety." The members have worked in the family, have shared in it, invested in it, and received its benefits. In short, the family and not the individual is the unit for all the economic relations of the individual with outside agencies. These families

are functioning as "collective agents with unlimited responsibility for the economic well-being and existence of their members." This is a real contrast to the urban or the commercialized family, in which the collective and economic responsibility of the family is rapidly weakening.

Further, the relations in these Highland families between the familialistic and the economic elements are different from those which exist in families in urban societies. The economic bonds of property are vital to the security and stability of the family. Its concern about the land, the future head of the family, and the economic welfare of each child, demonstrates clearly that the family knows the solidifying power of living in the same house, working the same land, saving as a unit, and sharing economic prosperity as well as poverty.

This short theoretical analysis should explain why these Highland families and this Highland community can be classified as primarily familialistic, in contrast with the urban and the commercialized farm family. The foregoing qualitative and quantitative analysis should also show clearly the elements of unity of this *Gemeinschaft* type of community. It should also show why these families hold rigidly to such traits as family unity, family property, family training of children, strong parental authority, strong moral and religious principles, strong collective economic functions, and geographic and social isolation, in order to maintain their culture. It is not unusual in such a community that the investigator finds a low mobility among the members, a strong desire to keep the family name pure, strong family pride or shame, forceful and dogmatic family traditions, and mutual sacrifices and earnest devotion to the family.

CRITICISM OF LE PLAY'S FAMILY-SOCIETY CORRELATION

These considerations lead us finally to a criticism of Le Play's correlation between the type of a family and the type of a society. The criticism applies not only to Le Play but to the numerous

other writers who try to find a definite form of family associated generally with a similar type of society. Such writers are numerous in ethnology, primitive sociology, Marxian economics and in many other branches of the social sciences as shown in Part I, Chapter II.

The type of family structure in the Ozarks is a reflection of the strength and solidarity of the organization. Consequently, it is clearly evident that the main correlation, if there is any correlation, between family and society is between the strength of the family and the demands or needs of the society.

The Ozark social organization is one which has existed undisturbed for a long period in a situation where the aims of the individual and of the family were fused. There was no solution for individual problems except through the family, and on the contrary, there was no expression of the purposes of the family except by making the individual familialistic.

Out of this situation strong family units came naturally. The fact that the *famille-souche* or stem-family was one means of expressing this strength was relatively unimportant. The important fact was that the situation demanded and created a strong family. Thus the real correlation between society and the family was a relationship between the type of society and the strength or weakness of the family. It was not a relationship between society and the structure of the family. Conceivably, a strong family could take other forms than that of the stem type. Brothers might be held responsible for the families of dependent sisters. The matriarch might rule from the death of the former head; she might appoint a daughter to carry on the duties of the stem. Again, there are many organizations in such communities which do not take on the stem characteristics at all. Obviously, many families which cannot hope to establish themselves permanently will settle near their parental household. One cannot continuously find new families and households appearing in the same territory. The land ultimately will support no more organizations.

The stem type as such becomes merely one of the common ways of expressing a strong organization under conditions of free

migration. It does not necessarily apply to all strong families or to all families in a community where the stem type is found.

Le Play may have recognized this. But he never emphasizes it in his writings. To him the structure of the family is dominant. He never seems to see that the strength of the organization is all-important. He never seems to recognize the possibility that other manifestations of family strength, such as the ability of the organization to perpetuate itself, might be more characteristic of strong families than the stem-type structure. The fact that Le Play never recognizes this may be seen from his own family life and from his attempts to establish his family as a stem type.

This suggests that the inability of Le Play's critics to find his family-society correlation by using similar methods or similar data was due largely to the fact that Le Play saw only part of the truth and never apprehended it clearly.

The stem-type form is only a common manifestation of many strong families and does not necessarily appear in all or in most families of an area predominantly familistic. In the Ozarks it is far from being manifested in all families.

It seems that the spirit and not the form, the strength and not the mould, is the dominating characteristic of this family. The contribution of the Ozark type of family to American life lies really in the fact that it has preserved strong family life in a period of increasing individualism. Whether good or bad, that is the essence of the Ozark familistic society. It is a type of living which is becoming more and more unusual because of its increasing rarity in American life.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL REFORM FOR THE HIGHLANDER

The semi-pure *Gemeinschaft* type of family and community in America is facing a crisis. Its defences are assaulted and its unique family structure is threatened in the ever growing circle of urbanization or the *Gesellschaft*. Its refusal to be drawn out from its wall of defense into urbanization and commercialization,

and its determination to maintain its own strong social forces, have been its only salvation in the past.

Now that public action concerning the marginal and hill farmers is inherent in the present trend of economic and nationalistic thinking, it behooves us to consider the problem of the methods, advantages, or disadvantages of modifying this system of living. In this the Le Play approach to the topic of standards of living is exceedingly valuable.

Two extreme points of view are held concerning social reform. One is that it is not a topic for science; the other, that social science is only worth while if it results in some practical conclusions. When one considers public action in relation to the Highlander (an example of the so-called sub-marginal farmer in America), two equally extreme points of view stand forth. One is "let the Highlander alone"; the other is to remove him or reorganize him for greater economic productivity. One group would let nature take its course. The other would either put industry in the hills, or buy up the land for forest preserves and move the mountaineer to better land.

We are not going to solve either of these dilemmas. Those who wish can write about the problems of life; others can write about pure science. The value of any document is its nearness to the facts of life. We can either do something about the Highlander or let him alone. Here we wish to discuss the significance of social reform. The important problem is not to do the wrong thing. We use *wrong* here in the sense of incongruous. A nation suffering from unemployment should think it incongruous to create further unemployed. One suffering from agricultural overproduction should find it incongruous to settle the Highlander or to rearrange his life so that he creates further agricultural surpluses. A nation embarked upon a vast program of subsistence homesteads should find it incongruous to destroy, at least partially, the only large body of persons already finding an enjoyable living in subsistence activities. A nation suffering from the over-sophistication of its people should find it incongruous

ous to create still another group who will feel that "the world owes us a living."

From one point of view the Highlander is a sub-marginal social type existing in ignorance, poverty, and malnutrition. In spite of his picturesqueness he is either a menace to American standards of living or an isolated individual left behind in the progress of mankind. He has little or no money income. He manages to secure a bare living by uneconomic and anti-social exploitation of natural resources which should be preserved for future America. He needs to be removed from his home or to have industries brought to him in order that he shall be able to produce more, purchase more, and have a higher general standard of living.

His desires are limited to the uninspiring environment of his isolated life. He will continue to live on a subsistence level, plagued by all the diseases and disadvantages of ignorance until he is developed into a more rationalized economic individual.

His birth rate is high, and in spite of a high death rate he produces a steady increase of population which, by moving out from the hills, tends to lower the American standard of living by increasing the pressure of population upon natural resources.

The Highlander from this pessimistic point of view is one denuding the soils of the forest, aiding in the quick destruction of the top soil, and ruining natural resources which will be needed eventually as play and recreation grounds by our large commercialized populations.

From the other point of view, the Highlander is a man who is taking care of himself in a time when urban populations suffer from unemployment and when farm prices are so low that the agriculturist cannot pay his bills. In spite of his low income he takes care of himself and of his relatives, who return to the hills when the lowlands no longer offer them work. He does this without contributing to the problems either of the city or of commercial agriculture. He does not add voluntarily to the burden of relief either local, state or federal.

In a country where the birth rate is already so low that popu-

lation in the cities is not reproducing itself and that of commercial agriculture is barely doing so, the farmer of the hills is furnishing a supply to fill up the gaps. These recruits leave their homes and migrate to find jobs in the lowlands during good times. In periods of hard times they stay in the hills and take care of themselves.

In a nation already developed on the lines of contractual organization so far that it faces a condition of great psychological suffering, the Highlander, with his naïveté and his belief in traditional American ideals, is a force for the balance in the psychology of the nation.

Thus, there are two sides to the question. It would seem from the national point of view that a decision as to public policy in regard to the Highlanders should be based upon a two-fold consideration rather than upon a one-sided interpretation of mountain life.

Two solutions have in general been offered to the "Highland problem." One is the suggestion to industrialize or commercialize him as he is. This is represented by the Tennessee Valley project, which can only reach its fruition by putting many of the Highlanders in a situation where they consume electricity on a large scale. This consumption may be in the home or the factory or both. In any case, it will have to be done by a population which has money to spend on a scale greater than that of the present Highlander.

The other solution is being attempted on an equally large scale in the purchase of the land for reforestation and the moving of the Highlander to more fertile spots. Some of these fertile lands are in the hills and some are elsewhere. In some cases there has been talk of moving the Highlander to industrial jobs. As a matter of fact many of the cotton rayon textile mills on the edges of the hills have recruited their labor supply from the Highlands. However, since the depression very little has been heard about this form of solution.

Both of these solutions regard the Highlander as a variant from present American life and think that he should be remade. In each case the plans are based upon a belief that the Highlander

should be like the rest of America in income and purchasing power. He must either farm like the commercial agriculturist or he must carry his dinner pail to the mill as does the factory laborer. Relatively little thought has been applied to the consequences of either change upon social life of the Highlander, or upon the social balance in the total population. Moving the Highlander is not a simple solution. The Highlander is already moving out as rapidly as the surplus of population collects. In many districts more touched by communication than the Ozarks depopulation of the Highlands and other so-called marginal areas is going on rapidly. Those who now endorse the attempt to make the Highlander move are thinking largely of the stems of families still left in the hills.

It is suggested that the remaining families be collected in the more fertile spots in the hills, that they be colonized in the lowlands, or that they be colonized near industrial power sites in the hills. Moving the Highlander on a mass scale has its difficulties. Certainly his experiments at mass migration to the mills in the valleys have not been notable for their results. Neither have his experiments in lowland farming, particularly when undertaken by mass movements, ordinarily been successful. When he has moved to semi-marginal lands in the lowlands which enable him to carry on a semi-subsistence agriculture along with wage labor in other industries, he has done very well. But these movements have been gradual, colonies of former Highlanders being formed in the lowlands by the younger members of a community. The main branches of the families have nearly always stayed in the hills.

Unfortunately the development of a new country sometimes has complex results on a simple native population such as the Highlanders. Even good roads with all their advantages have led to the breakdown of the rural family by affording easy access from country to city. They have also been easy pathways by which the vices of the city have entered the country, which, in spite of all the problems arising from isolation and other limitations, has produced and preserved a sturdy rural manhood. Better roads, higher wages, better schools, more recreational advantages,

and a more urbanized view of life may be of advantage in some respects; but, on the other hand, mining and lumber and other industrial operations may leave an area poorer in natural resources and contaminated by association with other cultures, foreign to and destructive of the most vital elements of isolated rural life. One frequently hears the Highlander comment in this fashion: "It seems like folks don't live as well, now that the railroad has come in, as they did in the old days when everyone raised enough for himself." Attitudes which may be called "unmoral" in isolation may become actively "immoral" under urban influences. We should not conclude that all industrial development has such influences. In places it may be desirable to develop industries and assist in the proper development of mountain resources. However, the future development of most of the Highland area seems to be in agriculture, for which large areas are well suited.⁶

Thus the plan of collecting the Highlander into dense communities upon fertile soil, or where industries are open to him, has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Unless this change is brought about very slowly and under excellent management, whatever values lie in his familism will be largely if not totally destroyed.

Possibly there are many who wish to see this type of life changed. If so, the course of action is clearly laid out.

If we should wish to preserve this familism and still give the Highlander some of those things which we believe are the benefits of "urbanization," it probably could be done best of all through the agricultural development of the Highlander where he is. Emphasis could be put upon more complete subsistence activities which would leave more of his present funds free to secure medical services of a better quality and other advantages. Many phases of his culture show possibilities of improvement without any great increase of commercialization.

Much of the mountain area is properly agricultural land and if the population increases, more and more of this area must be brought into cultivation. This means that the steeper slopes must

⁶ Glenn, L. C., *Denudation and Erosion in the Southern Appalachian Region*, pp. 11-12, U. S. Geological Survey, Professional Paper, No. 72, 1915.

be cleared and that danger of erosion must be lessened by the introduction of improved methods of agriculture. Even without an increase of population much of this is necessary. Terracing, contour plowing and ditching, crop rotation, sodding to pasture or meadow, as well as selection of the crops best adapted to the region, especially those most helpful in holding soil on the steep slopes, should be studied. To be of practical value, this study must consider all these things as they are related to the specific and sometimes peculiar climate, rainfall, soil, slope, labor, and other natural and economic conditions of the region.

The study of the agricultural problem should also include a consideration of practical methods of reclaiming eroded and abandoned lands, and of the effectiveness of brush, straw, or other filling for gullies, or brush, log, or rock dams across them, and of tree, vine, or other vegetable coverings for bare areas. Such a study should also include a consideration of methods of regulating and restraining both the wild headwaters or torrent reaches, and the lower, but still rapid and easily changeable courses of the mountain streams along whose banks lie the most fertile agricultural lands of the region. These lands are now at the mercy of uncurbed, destructive activities of the swift-flowing streams in times of flood.

In studying these problems much could be learned from observation in Europe, where for centuries man has slowly won to agriculture area after area of steeper and steeper slope, as population has pressed hard upon subsistence.

Under present methods of farming 100 acres would be ample support for an average Highland family.⁷ The Ozark families studied exist on much less (45.7). The average farms in the hills, if improved to their utmost by means of proper cropping and rotation, could be divided so that many more farms could be developed from the present acreage.

⁷ Marbut, C. F., *Soils of the U. S.*, Bulletin No. 96, U. S. Geological Survey. *Report on the Southern Appalachian and Mountain Watersheds*, U. S. Dept. of Agric., 1908.

"Numerous attempts have been made to estimate the percentage of the area of these mountains that might safely and profitably be cleared for cultivation. These estimates average about 15 percent. It is difficult to give any definite idea of such area, for the allowable limit of slope of lands that may be safely cleared—which is generally put at 10 degrees and which alone has usually been considered—is not the only factor of the problem. The nature of the soil, which is dependent on the geology of the underlying rock formations, and the intelligence and care of the cultivator should also be considered. On some soils 10 degrees may be the maximum slope for safe cultivation; on the other soils slopes of 20 degrees do not wash. Slopes themselves may be changed by terracing, and education may so greatly increase the intelligence and care of the cultivation that estimates of cultivable area that consider these varying factors must of necessity vary, and the variation tends to increase the estimation of the cultivable area as time passes. The increase however must be slow, and for present methods of cultivation 18 to 20 percent is probably a liberal estimate for the area that may be cleared safely. . . . The agricultural lands of the Highland area are generally fertile, and if wisely handled will safely and permanently support a much greater population than now inhabits the region.⁸

There is little doubt that the present acreage, when scientifically farmed, could support a large increase in population. The stumbling block in the way of this scientific development of farming is the fact that the topography of the soil is of such a nature that its importance has been neglected. The Highlander has taken the land easiest to secure, and so long as he could supply his family with fish and game and the products of the land he did not worry about the care of the soil. He could secure more from his large tract. He would "deaden" the trees for each successive crop as his land gave out in one section. Many crops of corn can be found on hillsides so steep that one can easily believe that "the farmer broke his leg falling out of his corn

⁸ Glenn, L. C., *Denudation and Erosion in the Southern Appalachian Region and the Monongahela Basin*, pp. 11-12. U. S. Geol. Survey, Professional Paper No. 72, 1911.

field." Some areas are so rough and steep that it is impossible to work the ground with a hoe. Even in large level pieces of land the farmer has worked against himself because of ignorance, and ruined the little fertile land he had. He is likely to burn the under-brush, destroying the grass and killing seedlings, but no amount of persuasion will make him do otherwise. Little or no use is made of fertilizer, and the Highlander does not understand its value.

For the future the proper care of the soil is life itself to the farmer. If he is to remain a Highland farmer he must experiment. Other grains can be tried, and the Highland area is well suited for fruit. Berries do very well, and strawberry culture has been growing in popularity of late years. Potatoes and garden truck are adapted to certain soils.⁹ Grapes have great possibilities. They will grow abundantly in the mountains and they might be canned in various ways to enable them more easily to find a market. The drying of fruits and certain vegetables would assist in the problem of marketing or of preserving food.¹⁰

Shrubs, bulbs, and tulips grow well in mountain soil and their cultivation would be an interesting experiment. Tree culture might be tried. The chinquapin might be successfully cultivated and grafted. Improved mulberry and persimmon could be added. Goats and sheep would do well on the hillsides. The raising of poultry and the keeping of bees are already increasing in popularity. Most of the more rugged mountain areas are very suitable for dairy culture. The grasses are well adapted for grazing, and the large amount of natural pastureage should make possible a splendid development of the dairy products.

The chief hindrance at the present time is the inertia of the people and the lack of confidence they have in the town man, who has so often "skinned" them in the past that the Highlanders

⁹ Arnold, J. H., *Ways of Making Southern Mountain Farms More Productive*, Bulletin No. 905, U. S. Dept. of Agric., 1916.

¹⁰ Smith, J. R., "Farming Appalachia," *American Review of Reviews*, Vol. LIII, pp. 329-36, 1916, and Branson, C. E., *Farm Life Conditions in the South*, State Normal School, Athens, Georgia.

look with suspicion upon all "offers" from the outside and especially those fostered by the town leaders.

Probably the Highland people must be their own leaders. Native leadership can develop the land. In the mountain area of the Ozark Highlands there is much latent talent, needing only training to develop the natural Highland mountain resources.

From the viewpoint of the popular analysis of standards of living, the families need to live better. From the Le Play point of view, this better living must be based on adaptations which will tend to preserve the strong family structure which exists.

Le Play himself would probably say that these families are stable units needed for the long-time preservation of American culture. The branches (migrants) sent off to the city tend to keep up the population and to preserve the naive provincialisms necessary to a strong society. The stem-families, on the other hand, would keep up this supply of population and would send off constantly new recruits to join in and perhaps check the disrupted social processes of the city.

The purpose of this monograph has been two-fold: to interpret the Le Play method to the American people, and to show by an analysis of the standard of living of segments of the American population what it means in concrete situations.

It is our hope that the foregoing analysis will add something to the ideas about the marginal peoples who comprise much of our farm population. Most previous analyses have been one-sided. They have sought to change the Highlander completely without counting the social cost to the Highlander or to the rest of the nation. There are several millions of non-commercialized farmers, of whom the Highlander is an example, which are about all that is left of early America. Our attitude regarding them naturally depends upon the valuation which we give to the traits developed in the settlement and creation of the American nation.

CHAPTER XVI

Decentralized Industry

Our next problem involves decentralized industry, often heralded as a means of industrial and urban reconstruction. Here again we report only on studies of it which we have made ourselves, and analyze primarily the influence of the family type on its success or failure.

For this study New England is particularly advantageous because it has already the substance of decentralized industry. Much of New England is not agricultural at all, its small towns being merely factory sites scattered among its rural areas. Consequently, an analysis of conditions in New England ought to give a picture of what might be expected in another area, say northern Michigan, if the industries in the larger cities were split up into small units and scattered in villages or towns of a population of 200 or less about the countryside.

For our analysis we take Kingsville, a stranded industrial town.¹ The analysis deals with the history of a group of laborers living in a small industrial village after the one mill on which the whole village was dependent closed its doors. The immediate purpose of the study was to ascertain what further resources would be available to such a community and to estimate the value of these resources. Two problems, with a corollary, were to be answered. First, what were the local, non-industrial resources of

¹ The name is fictitious. The field work on this study was made chiefly by Dr. C. A. DeVoos of the University of Utrecht and Mr. Edward C. Devereux. Neal DeNood also assisted in the location of the community and the physical planning of the project. The project was one of a series of relief studies made with assistance from Federal Emergency Relief Administration funds. Due credit for all the facts reported here should go to the fine scientific zeal of Dr. DeVooys and Mr. Devereux. The conclusions concerning the family are ours. Here we do not follow the full Le Play method but use his hypotheses as extended by us. Since we had no assistant who was adequately equipped we picked Mr. Devereux because of his brilliant honors thesis on F. Tönnies' sociological methods. Dr. DeVooys was a visiting Fellow.

the village, and could these support the stranded town in a state of unemployment? And second, were the industrial resources in the neighboring region sufficient to support the displaced workers? Finally, what rôle did the family type play in the situation?

Much idealistic theorizing has been done about the advantages of "rural" industry. It is generally believed that unemployment never acts as severely on the "rural" laborer as on his urban cousin. These idealists forget that to live in a rural area is not the same as to be a part of it; that a city type of family may be worse off in the country than in the city. We found an industrial group living its own existence in little contact with the agricultural population or the soil. Without the soil and the family type which will use it the other much-talked-of advantages of the rural laborer are counterbalanced by several disadvantages unique among "rural" unemployed. Our results indicate that in rural areas jobs are more difficult to get and are less steady than in urban situations.² And in general we find the burden of unemployment in the one-mill town far more severe than in cities.

The survey was made as complete as possible without the sacrifice of accuracy. The 600 mill workers were visited personally whenever possible. Information from family or friends was accepted in other cases. Questions were limited to matters which might be expected to elicit frank and correct answers. Thus, no attempt was made to discover the exact amount a family had in the bank or how much was owed in arrears. Rather a more general estimate of the family's financial position was sought. But even in simple questions of the place and dates of jobs, it was often necessary to check and recheck to aid faltering memories. Reasonably accurate results were obtained.

Work was facilitated by the friendly and co-operative attitude of the entire village, an attitude which may have resulted from the popular belief that the mill might be opened as a result of our questions. The personnel of the mill was especially helpful, allowing us free access to the company records and spending days of

² Less steady for the commuters. Rural-industrial jobs were more steady for the village group.

its own time supplying us with necessary data from the company payroll.

Kingsville is a typical rural-industrial one-mill town located in the Peace River valley at a source of waterpower, in the heart of the dairy region of central Massachusetts. The mill community, Kingsville, is one of the four villages in the town of Chadwick.³ Other centers of population are Excelsior, a village of some fifty families, two schools, a store and a railroad station, built around the Excelsior paper mill, now closed for an indefinite period; Old Comfort and Chadwick, small farming centers, consisting of a store, a few houses, and almost as many churches.

The principal population center in Chadwick town, however, is Kingsville. Of the 2460 persons in the total population, according to the 1930 census, almost 1500 are grouped about Kingsville. And of the 575 families of the census about three-fifths, a little over 325 families, were living in Kingsville. The balance of the population, except for the fifty mill families of Excelsior is in farm families. The Kingsville population, except for a few families engaged in supplying the services and conveniences necessary to the village, is composed entirely of mill people.

The town of Kingsville is built around the mill, from which it is named and which is the only possible excuse for its being. East and West are reckoned from the mill office. The Excelsior Company is typical of the older New England textile mills. The first mill was built about 1857. Additions followed until in time a plant valued at three million dollars was completed. Arranged in four large buildings, the plant is equipped for the manufacture of woolen and worsted goods. In prosperous years employment was afforded to as many as 1200 workers. The buildings are large and are spread out over an area of about three-quarters of a mile. In addition to water power, generated at two different levels of the Peace River, the plant is driven by large steam turbines. Equipment in some departments is old-fashioned and the management of the mill was not quite in step with the efficiency and

³ Town is used here in the New England sense, meaning about the same as township in other areas of the United States.

high speed of modern industry. Factors and events leading to the shut-down of the mill, in February 1932, need not concern us here.

The main business center of Chadwick town is located in Kingsville. The business section consists of four grocery stores, two of them chain stores, a hardware store, a shoe repairing shop, two barber shops, two bars, two small hotels, a clothing store, a restaurant, a drug store, a garage, and a filling station. In all about forty people gain their livelihood from these local small-business enterprises.

Other non-economic community conveniences are also located in the Kingsville center. The cultural resources of the village are appropriately grouped together in another block on Main Street. These are the town library, the finest building in town and a gift of the King Company of prosperous times; the Congregational church, a large and handsome building, but with a congregation diminished to negligible proportions; the town high school, a modern brick building, which also serves, by means of the bus, the other centers as well as Kingsville; and the local grammar school. These buildings are well kept and boast the only real lawns in town. Community pride has relaxed in other respects. The park surrounding the bandstand has now the appearance of any other field, although the town is still loyal to its local band and turns out *en masse* for the regular Sunday evening concert. And the community tennis court is now suitable for use as a pasture.

The Roman Catholic church is a flourishing organization and boasts a parochial school and a fine home for its sisters. This church is especially popular with the French Canadian group. Occasional church suppers and benefits supply about the only organized social life of the town, apart from the school affairs.

To complete the list of public institutions in Kingsville, we should mention the Polish American Club, which at present is primarily an informal gathering place, popular with the 800 Polish people. In better times the club used to give elementary education to the Polish people and teach their children to write Polish, for purposes of communicating with the old country. The club now

takes pride in its baseball team which periodically tests its mettle against the high school nine, an event which attracts the whole village to the local diamond.

In addition, there is the American Legion building which serves as a loafing place for the less energetic of the 100 local veterans, and practically as living quarters for some without family or occupation to engage them. In summer the building is used mostly for band rehearsals, loafers preferring the fresh air and street scene of the hotel steps.

Popular with the younger group and children is the community swimming hole, located beside the ball field in one of the beautiful hillsides which surround Kingsville. Unemployed "job hunters" may vary the routine of adorning the hotel steps with a few hours at the swimming pool, watching the activity and listening to the shouts of the youngsters. Very few of the older people, however, ever touch the water. The pool is a monument to the civic spirit of old Kingsville. With materials supplied by the company, the mill workers, in their spare time, built the dam and bath houses. With all the idle time now on her hands, it is doubtful whether Kingsville today could rise to such a community enterprise. The discouragement and idleness of the few years since the wheels, whistles, and clocks stopped, have been a mortal blow to community enterprise. The village picnics and general gatherings of old days have ceased. Local social workers and church men complain that it is almost impossible to get any interested response nowadays. Even the boy scouts have felt the depression in community morale. In recent years there are no expeditions to Chadwick pool for a night of camping out and adventure.

The houses in which Kingsville lives were built and are owned by the King Company. The company owns 254 such tenements. In general appearance the houses are much alike. They vary widely, however, in interior plan and accommodations, and likewise in size, ranging from single family houses to a few eight family blocks.

In prosperous times the company took great pride in the mill village. A force of 60 men were kept working full time as the

"outside crew" to keep lawns and terraces clipped and neat and yards clean. A corps of painters kept the tenements in good shape inside and outside.

Today the appearance of the houses well reflects the altered circumstances of Kingsville. The general exodus of mill families who found or hoped to find work out of town has left 52 company tenements vacant. This number would have been larger had not shaft laborers moved into some. Their unkempt lawns and general rundown condition lend a depressing appearance to the whole town. This condition is furthered by the fact that over half of the company tenements are without any wage earner in the family. The company allows its jobless employees to remain in the houses without paying rent, but does not give the non-rent-paying families the usual landlord's service. Only 75 of all the company tenements are paying rent now; 127 are not paying. Unless the latter families are especially energetic and careful their homes quickly assume a rundown appearance. Rows of empty garages near the homes recall better times. License plates of 1933 and even 1932 are to be seen on some cars which have been permanently parked beside the houses.

Although the general appearance of the town is depressing, true slum conditions nowhere exist. Though sparsely furnished, most of the homes are kept reasonably clean and livable. Family living is concentrated in the large kitchen. This rural custom is observed by all to economize in heating. In winter the kitchen is the only comfortable room in the house. Not more than 40 percent of the homes have electric lights. Although all tenements now have flush closets, there are only six bathtubs in the whole village. Those who will not enter the water at the swimming hole must join the family in the Saturday evening ceremony, performed in a tin tub on the kitchen floor. There is running cold water in the kitchen sink only; hot water comes from the kettle. The parlors are neat but look stuffy from little use. Almost no books were seen in the homes of the mill workers. Decorations are colorful, especially in the Polish houses, where brilliantly colored calendars featuring sentimental child subjects compete in popular favor.

with equally brilliant religious subjects. The stove is often a cheerful blue, green or gray, and may be highly polished.

In general the houses are in rows, but are generously spaced. Considerable variety in the situation of the houses is brought about by the irregularities of the valley in which the village is built. There are several distinct sections or sub-communities in Kingsville. High Street is entirely occupied by Polish people. High Street families because of their location on the hill have little contact with the rest of the village. Here the great majority of the housewives speak no English at all, although many have been in this country over forty years. The men also show little knowledge of the language. Practically all interviews on High Street were conducted with children as interpreters.

Before the arrival of the foreign groups in the late 90's or early 1900's the mill population was largely Irish, Scotch-Irish, Scotch and English. These families live in the older section of the town, on Main Street. Their homes may have electricity and possibly radios. Small lawns and even flower gardens are cultivated by some of the Main Street families. Parlors and books are used here if anywhere.

The other largest English speaking block is situated on Prospect Street, on a hill side commanding the best view of the whole valley. Some families here complain that they miss the activity of Main Street. Homes on Prospect Street are a bit larger than those situated elsewhere.

Bridge Street, the Lithuanian section, most nearly approximates slum conditions in Kingsville. Here are the largest families, who live in the smallest quarters, the tenements being only one floor per family. English is almost unknown among the older Bridge Street residents. In true European style women here often do their chores barefoot. More in the mode are the young girls of this section who may gather before the tenement in the evening while an amateur of their number makes for five cents per person finger-waves and spit-curls from a sidewalk chair. In the old days the Polish and Lithuanian groups were housed together, but this

occasioned frequent street brawls and block fights. The early immigrants often wore their colorful native costumes.

The national difference between the groups are still noticeable, especially when it is necessary to expel any doubts an ignorant interviewer may show as to which group a family belongs.

On Mechanic Street live a group of Polish home owners. These are the more industrious unskilled laborers, who bought their homes in prosperous years. Small home gardens and backyard chicken coops distinguish this section. One man has a one-cow barn, complete with loft and all, which occupies no more than 20 by 15 feet. As we shall see later, home ownership played an important rôle in the depression history of these families.

There is no white-collar class in Kingsville. Although the Chadwick people are styled "wealthy," the town has really no contact with the "upper" classes. The whole of Kingsville lives "on the same side of the tracks." Although we have differentiated above certain distinctive groups, an outsider's first impression is of unbroken uniformity. This impression is the result of certain traits in the inhabitants. First, unconscious of economic differences, the laboring people have not the suspicious and self-contained attitudes of the city laborer towards outsiders. Kingsville is without exception a friendly town. A marked difference was noted, in this respect, in the neighboring town of Peace, where a few blocks may span large income differences. Second, Kingsville is rural and provincial despite its size. New York papers cannot be bought and Boston papers are rare. Most of the people have few contacts with the outside world and the great majority had never worked for any other company than the King. These two facts are of great significance in that the workers lack job hunting experience. Although there are two railroads in town, one is now idle, the depot being used as a filling station. The other runs but one passenger car per day and this is usually empty.

The principal outside stimulus of the Kingsville people is Peace, a neighboring mill town of 8000, about four miles distant. Peace has much to offer, with its Woolworth store, movie house, and occasional circus or fair. Especially on Saturday the lure of

the "city" is strong. As the busses are few and expensive and do not run after seven at night, the usual method of transportation is "thumbing." In the evening the streets are lined with little groups of "thumbers" going to Peace. The girls as well as the boys use this expedient. At least one girl reported getting a job in this fashion—"met the boss while hitch-hiking to Peace."

Apart from the weekly trip to Peace, Kingsville is quite self-contained. There is almost no contact with the mill people of Excelsior and the farmer group keeps only its own society. In Kingsville, however, everyone knows everyone else. In the streets everybody salutes the passerby—even the outsider.

THE CLOSING OF THE MILL

The King Company reached its highest peak shortly after the World War, employing at that time about 1200 workers. In 1920 began the slow but steady decline which affected the textile industries throughout New England. The gradual shrinkage in employment figures for this industry was due in part to technological improvements and in part to the relative decline in the manufacture of textiles in New England. In Massachusetts alone, the textile industries in 1929 were employing about 70,000 fewer workers than in 1919. Although the main burden fell on the cotton industry, woolens and worsteds also felt the decline. Over 5000 were dropped in these industries during the twenties. The King Company bore more than its share of this general shrinkage. By 1929 its payroll had shrunk to about 50 percent of its normal size, averaging only 648 persons for the year.

In 1930 the situation became considerably more acute. In this year employment figures were cut in half again, and it became apparent that the mill was heading for a fall. This year was completed with only 231 workers. This small number of laborers was maintained with little change throughout most of 1931. In December, however, employment figures began the final plunge. In March 1932 the mill was shut down and has not run since.

At the time of the shut-down there were only 89 employees.

For practical purposes we may consider the mill as being shut down two years before the actual halt. To consider the situation of the unemployed workers will give a fairer picture. For the purposes of the present survey the shut-down was dated from January 1, 1930, at the time of the first heavy lay-off. The workers who were discharged before that time had a fair chance of finding other work. Unemployment was not a serious problem in the Kingsville of 1929. In 1930, however, with the general depression firmly established, the situation of displaced workers was not so simple. In this study all workers laid off since January, 1930, are considered to have lost their job by the shut-down.

The week showing the largest number of workers since the opening of 1930 came in February of that year, when the payroll listed 635 employees. Of this number thirty are still employed as maintenance crew and office staff. These are not included in the present survey. Eleven of the mill workers have since died and thus were safe from our questioning. Of the remaining 594 for whom schedules were made, complete information was secured from 579. Eight cases were abandoned with partial information because of the expense and time required for further pursuit. And from seven no information could be obtained. These may have been transients who did not stay long enough to become known to the local workers; or quite possibly their names were spelled so badly by the mill foremen, from whom we took our list, that they could not be recognized even by the workers themselves. Our analysis comprises only the 579 schedules actually completed.

A word is necessary about the composition of the mill population when the mill was running. There was a preponderance of male over female employees: 348 of the group or about 60.1 percent were males; 39.9 percent or 231 workers were females. This proportion had been more even at an earlier date. For in the early lay-offs there had been some discrimination against married women whose husbands were working. In the total mill group 44 percent were classified as skilled and 56 percent as unskilled. Classification in these categories was based on the difficulty of

the job and the wage earned. The inevitable border line cases of "semi-skilled" gave the usual difficulties and their classification in some cases was more or less arbitrary. The wage actually earned was here the deciding criterion. Thus, spinners, who might earn on piece-rate from fourteen to twenty-eight dollars a week on the 1930 scale, were classified as skilled.

Sixty-four of the workers were not residents of Kingsville. These commuted to work from neighboring towns and from the surrounding countryside. This group does not really enter into the stranded town situation. Their situation is so different in every respect that it was decided to keep them separate throughout the survey. Special reference will be made to the commuter group later for purposes of comparison and contrast. At present we will subtract the 64 commuters and consider only the mill workers actually living in Kingsville in 1930, 515 in all.

In the Kingsville group 59 percent are males and 41 percent females (the commuter group being largely males). Skilled workers came to 223 or 43.3 percent and unskilled 292 or 56.7 percent of the total. The men were more skilled than the women. There were 160 or 52.6 percent of the men who were skilled workers and 144 or 47.4 percent unskilled men. In the female group, however, only 29.8 percent or 63 were skilled; 70.2 percent or 148 filled unskilled positions. The division into skilled and unskilled proved one of great significance in estimating ability in job hunting. More detailed reference will be made at a later point to the skilled and unskilled.

Distribution by age groups reveals further facts about the mill population. Perhaps the most noticeable feature is the large percentage of child mill workers. It was always the custom for children to leave school at the earliest possible age to begin work in the mill. The great majority of the entire mill population had worked since the age of fourteen years. Some of the older workers admitted having lied about their ages in order to begin even younger. Two had worked since their ninth year. Even in this day of universal education for all Americans, the local High School could not vie with the mill, a fact that is well attested by

the size of the 14 to 19 group. The impulse to leave school and start work usually came from the children, although their families were certainly not displeased with the prospect of an extra wage earner.

The severe depression in the 25 to 29 age group also requires explanation. This is a temporary feature. With the decline of the 1920's large numbers of young people began to leave town in quest of more certain employment. As children they were given unskilled jobs in the mill, paying between eight and seventeen dollars a week. There was no place for them in the shrinking mill from which they could advance to the more skilled occupations; consequently, they left town as soon as they reached their majority.

The largest number of female workers is in the 35 to 39 age group, there being a very sharp decline after this age. The male peak is ten years later and maintains a fairly high level right up to the age of 60. Unlike many "modern" mills the King Company did not discriminate against men over 40. There was no pension system.

The distribution of skilled and unskilled workers by age groups gives expected results. Practically all the children and about half of the people over 50 were unskilled. Between the ages of 25 and 40, however, there were many more skilled workers than unskilled, the proportion being somewhat larger than two to one. Thus, in better times, large numbers of the unskilled youth had succeeded in bettering their position. Unskilled workers of 30 and over probably remained unskilled.

The distribution of female workers into skilled and unskilled shows that the skilled group holds predominance only in the 35 to 39 age group and the proportion of unskilled is generally higher throughout. Other features are roughly parallel to the male situation.

Marriage is a factor which proved of some importance in unemployment, especially as regards mobility of job hunting on one side and urgency of supporting a family on the other. Of the 515 mill workers 204 were unmarried at the time of dismissal. This figure is a bit misleading, unless we consider the large propor-

tion of children in the mill-working group. Of the single persons, 84 were under twenty years of age and another 58, or 142 in all, under the age of 25. But in the group over 25 there were only 62 single persons. In this group the skilled outnumbered the unskilled by more than two to one. A large proportion of the skilled women were single, marriage apparently being a foe to self-advancement for the female group.

The size of the families in which the mill workers live varies widely. Data were not obtained on the composition of the household in 1930, although there has probably been little change in this, except among the families which have moved. The present classification thus applies only to the mill families *now* (1934) living in Kingsville. There were only eighteen single-person families in the group analyzed. The largest number of families fell into the four person group. Next in favor was the two person household, usually man and wife, but often two brothers or widow and daughter, etc. The number of large families was smaller than might be expected, when we consider that almost half of the mill population is composed of Poles and Lithuanians. Some of the larger families had as many as four and even six wage earners employed in the mill; the aggregate weekly income must have been such as to permit a generous savings account. The following table shows the distribution of the mill population now living in Kingsville by size of household:

Size of family.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Number in each group..	18	41	34	53	24	25	9	6	4	3

Finally, a word is necessary about the length of time which the workers had stayed with the Company. In contrast to the usual urban situation, there was almost no turnover of the labor population in Kingsville. By far the largest group had worked in the mill since their fourteenth year. The employment of the women was less steady, owing to the interruptions of childbirth, etc. And, in general, the unskilled group were a bit less regular than the skilled. There was never a large group of transient workers, however. Thus the great majority of the mill workers

had never lived or worked anywhere but Kingsville. This lack of mobility, a characteristic of rural-industrial laborers, tends to make unemployment in a one-mill town an especially difficult problem.

JOB HUNTING AFTER THE SHUT-DOWN

We may now turn to the main problem of our study; to consider what has become of these 515 workers since the shut-down. With the mill closed, Kingsville became at once a stranded town. There is no other big industry in Kingsville. All other local employment totaled not more than forty persons. Thus, Kingsville could not possibly absorb her unemployed. The situation is quite clear; without the mill running, there will never be enough jobs in town. There are thus about 1500 too many people in Kingsville, for indeed the entire population is superfluous, the mill being the sole support of the village.

Stated in these terms, the situation of the mill workers seems clear enough. Had the mill closed quite suddenly—had all 515 workers come to the mill one morning to see a bill posted on the locked doors, saying that they would not be opened again for an indefinite period—then Kingsville might have seen her problem very plainly. But this was not the case. The mill closed so gradually that the shock was spread over two whole years. No statements were made about plans for reopening. Quite naturally many workers postponed job hunting in the expectation that the mill would run again. Yet as we shall point out later, the optimum time for finding new work is immediately after the lay-off. Those who put off facing the problem find it increasingly difficult to take action. But even to face the problem squarely is not to meet it.

Before considering the job hunting situation, we must first study the jobless people. Over one-third (35.3 percent) of the 515 mill workers displaced at the shut-down have never had any job of any kind since dismissal. This rather large group includes all the people who could not find any work or who never looked for work. Fortunately, the latter category includes by far the largest portion of the group of completely jobless persons. "Never looked

for work" can mean two things: either the person has met the problem by some other means than wage-earning—by living on other family income, savings, etc.—or the person is not even trying to solve his problem.

Some of the mill workers were not entirely dependent on their own income. The wives of many of the male owners worked while the mill was running, but the family was not dependent solely upon their earnings. The salary of the husband was quite sufficient to support the family. In general, the married women were dismissed before the husbands, a fact which may have discouraged further job seeking. For, naturally, a wife would stay in town at least as long as her husband was working there. And when he was discharged, the burden of job hunting fell on his shoulders. Thus, a large portion of the married women dropped out of the labor market immediately after dismissal. This may seem to imply that these women had made some other successful adaptation to their problem, but this is not necessarily the case. Never looked for work may mean that the women were unable to leave their families and household to work out of town, that the expense incurred in job hunting had better be invested in the male worker, or that the woman thought she could not find work. Many of these women would return to work if the Kingsville mill were to run again.

In all about 40 percent of the female group never looked for work. Over half of this group were between the ages of 30 and 45. That these workers should drop out in their prime points to any one or all of the reasons described above. The balance of the female group which did not look for work was composed of elderly women. About two-thirds of all the women over 45 years dropped out of labor. The great majority of young women stayed in the market. About 20 young girls, however, have since married and thus terminated their industrial careers. How far this is an unemployment expedient and how far the inevitable course of events, we cannot say. Be it noted, however, that the number of marriages in Kingsville in 1933 doubled the number wed in 1929, while the total population decreased in that period.

Eighty men have never looked for work since the shut-down. About three-fifths of this number were over 45 years old. Several have since become incapable of work. Some have accepted dismissal as retirement and are now living on the savings they have accumulated or on the income of younger members of the family. Others chose to wait for the mill to open again. Another large portion did not look because of the difficulty and expense of finding another job. The discrimination of modern employers against older applicants well justifies this pessimism. Half of all the unskilled men over 45, who actually looked for work, were unable to get jobs of any kind; and since then, of course, some of these aged persons have become cases for town support—some of them permanent relief cases. The greater number of males not looking for work is classified in the group having other family income—*i.e.* aged parents having children to support them or young boys still dependent upon their parents. Thus, a much larger portion of the male heads of households of 5 or more children was "not looking" than of the heads of smaller units.

Less excuse is to be found for the young men not looking for work. Classification as "not looking" was here difficult, as only five admitted that they were not trying to find work. The fact remains that 18 out of the 72 boys under 25 have never worked since. It is difficult to believe that these fellows could not find some kind of work had they looked very intensively; all the skilled youths looked for work and found it. It is hard to understand what hold Kingsville has on these unemployed young people. Free from the ties of family or home ownership we should expect to find this group leaving town in large numbers to try their luck in the cities. Only 17 of the men under 25 have moved out of town. The young girls were far more mobile, 42 of their number having left town. Many of the boys who completed high school in the last two years have never looked for any work. One family was found with eight children over 16 years old and not one of them working. Pitching horse shoes is the most serious occupation some have found. The youthful "loafer" is one of the most discouraging products of the shutdown.

We may now turn to the prospects of the workers actually looking for work. How did Kingsville go about looking for work? As we have seen there was no employment available in town. Of course, the usual town jobs on local roads and cemeteries were available to a few. In discussing jobs actually found, we will treat local resources in some detail. Our point here is merely that job hunters had to go out of town.

At once this presents difficulties. In taking on help, mills naturally prefer workers from their own town. By keeping local unemployment at a minimum taxes are thus reduced. And when any workers are dismissed, the universal rule is that out-of-towners go first. Outside help are usually put on the impermanent night shift. A few who actually moved got good jobs from their new addresses. One worker was dropped when this secret move to another town was discovered.

Other difficulties are also involved. Most important is transportation. But few of the mill workers own cars and many of those who did own cars could not afford to run them. The technique of finding work seems to consist largely in appearing daily at the mill selected until some opening appears. The alternative of leaving names at the office on a "waiting list" is a poor one. When the mill officials have a job to be done, naturally they will take the men who happen to be on hand at the time and will not bother to send for outsiders who may or may not appear. Besides, the daily appearance of a job hunter in the face of daily discouragement, may tend to build up a reputation for persistence, which would be favored when help was being taken on.

Thus, the job seeker must either travel daily to the mill or board out of town for a period. Either alternative is expensive. Groups of job hunters may organize about a car owner of their acquaintance; or they may accompany men who have already found work in the mill in question. For around three dollars a week per individual, the group is daily driven to a neighboring mill town to try their luck. Three dollars is a big item in a budget which has no weekly wage coming in. Only one mill a day may be visited for all employment for the day ceases after the opening whistle.

To reach the mill in time parties often start at five in the morning. Thus, hunting jobs out of town is an expensive and discouraging affair.

Some hunters, after months of futile traveling around, abandoned the effort because of the expense. Some had traveled in several states. A few said that expenses incurred in job hunting had run as high as \$150 and over. Considering the uncertainty of getting any work, the investment seems a bit risky. And when we allow for the impermanence of the job, even after it is found, we cannot blame the workers who "gave up." As savings accounts dwindled many deemed it sounder economy to apply the small balanced towards consumers' goods in the hope of "getting by" until the industrial horizon clears.

Other factors also enter the job hunting situation. Far more important than application is "pull." The great majority of successful job hunters admitted having a friend in the mill. The status of the inevitable friend, of course, varied. In some cases it was a former King Company overseer. Such an important friend might attract job seekers to much greater distances than friends among the workmen. The usual technique was a combination of having the friend "put in a word for you" and of actually applying.

Agencies were of little use except to some of the high skilled workers. There is always enough unskilled labor on hand so that mills do not have to call on agencies for it. And usually there are plenty of weavers, spinners, and sewers waiting in the office. The only professions which had any luck with agencies were the loom-fixers and the wool-sorters. Wool-sorters are the most highly skilled group in the wool business, three years being required to learn the trade. Many mills do not keep a permanent staff of sorters. In certain seasons they will call in a number of sorters and get enough wool ready to last the balance of the year. Thus, the wool-sorters are mostly transient, spending a few months in a mill and then moving on. Many of the Kingsville wool-sorters were sent for without even applying. Others got located through the large textile agencies in Boston. Further, the

wool-sorters union is very strong and is active in finding work for its unemployed members.

Very few Kingsville unemployed watched the newspapers for "help wanted" advertisements. The notable exception here was in the case of young girls looking for housework. Although most of them found a position through a friend, the local preacher or village doctor being the favorite references, many girls merely went to the city and combed the advertisements.

Only three persons in all tried their luck at commission selling —electric ice-boxes, nursery products, and men's clothing being the articles selected. None of them made a go of it.

And, finally, we must mention the freak methods of job seeking. Almost a half dozen men found work through their ball-playing talents. Most of the mills boast baseball nines, which receive considerable attention during the summer months. If the team needs a good first-base man, it is simple to get such a man a position in the mill during the summer. Others found work through their musical talents. Members of the Kingsville band met players from other mill towns. Often the foremen or officials of the mill play beside their employees in the local organization. A good trumpeter may thus have an advantage in competing with less talented mill men. And then, of course, we must recall the case of the girl who "met the boss while hitch-hiking."

Straight politics also played its rôle. A few found civil service and official town jobs through politics. An unskilled worker in the mill is now one of the high officials of the town. Most of the "politicians," however, seem to be handling their jobs with efficiency. Then there is the complaint that politics is important in getting town work. The most efficient in obtaining municipal employment is the veteran. A special town meeting was recently called to protest against the preference for unemployed veterans, who were not needy, over unemployed non-veterans who were in need. Single veterans are also preferred to married non-veterans. The meeting was of no avail as the discriminations in question are incorporated into the state and federal laws. At least one single and able veteran has been on the town road gang ever since

dismissal in the mill. The job is so good and so steady that he has never looked for other work. And finally, there are frequent complaints that there is racial and religious discrimination in selecting town help.

Where did the Kingsville unemployed go in quest for work? Fortunately, there were other mills within a commuting radius of Kingsville. A glance at an industrial map reveals that Kingsville is located near the border of the Massachusetts textile district. Former King Company workers have found work in eighteen other textile mills and have had to travel more than twenty miles to work. The long trip home in the middle of the night after eight hours on a late shift was hardly pleasant. No non-textile jobs of any nature were found within a twenty-mile radius. As was to be expected the skilled workers were more loyal to the textile industry, while the unskilled explored the other types of labor more approximate to Kingsville. In general, the mill workers stayed away from large cities. Worcester and Springfield, the two largest cities near Kingsville attracted between them only eleven job seekers.

The relative mobility or immobility of the job hunting group is thus an important factor. Mobility is perhaps the most neglected factor in the economic equation, yet it certainly is a factor of great significance. If it were not for difficulties in mobility there would be no one in Kingsville today. For there is no "good" reason for any worker remaining in a town which can offer no work. But as a matter of fact 363 of the 515 workers who lived in the Kingsville of 1930 are still living there.

Why do these people remain in Kingsville? Most of the people understand well that Kingsville is a poor place to live in. Yet to realize this fact is quite different from moving away. First, "where shall we move?" This is no easy problem for families who have never lived or worked anywhere but in Kingsville. Families do not blindly move to regions unknown. To pick up and move out is expensive and hazardous. If the head of the family is unsuccessful in finding work in the new town or city, the family is soon worse off than if it had remained in Kingsville. Thus,

unless the head of the family has a job promised to him or has a very definite idea what he is going to do, he will not move his family.

The alternative of finding work first and then moving is not so simple as it may appear. Practically every one in Kingsville answered, "I'd move out tomorrow, if I got a steady job." But, as we shall see later, jobs are not steady. We have already noted that out-of-towners are usually placed on the second and third shifts. When the particular order is finished, out they go. Night work is so uncertain that it would be very unwise to depend on it. And even if a man succeeds in getting a first shift position, new help is always dropped first, when slack times come. Thus, the risk of moving the family is prohibitive in most cases.

A notable exception to this is the case of families who had relatives in other towns. The distribution of relatives was perhaps the most important factor in determining where the group went which moved away. The usual arrangement here is for the job hunter to visit the relative in question and look for work in his town. Quite possibly the relative may find work for him in the plant where he is engaged, or he may use his friends and influence to help his relation get located. The expense of staying out of town is reduced when one stays with a relative and the prospects of finding work considerably better. Besides, having a relative at work helps to give momentum to the impulse to move.

The importance of the relative as a stimulus to move is well attested by the facts. The great majority of persons who found work outside of a twenty-mile radius from Kingsville acknowledged the presence of a relative in the town where work was found. In the case of young people, however, the rôle of the relative might be played by a "girl-friend" or a "boy-friend." Without some relative or close friend to stay with, few ventured further than a day's travel from Kingsville. Lack of relatives or close friends near at hand considerably restricted the mobility of the large group of foreign-born mill workers.

The only important exception to this rule was the case of young girls who went to the cities "blind" in quest of housework. As a

general rule, however, the existence or non-existence of relatives in other towns was one of the most important factors in extending or restricting the mobility of Kingsville job hunters.

Some families moved in with relatives without even looking for work. In this case, the relative was probably a married son or daughter who had moved away previously. Learning that their parents were stranded, married children often invited them to come there to live. Or mill workers might return to their former home town. This alternative was not open to the large group born and raised in town, or to the group of foreign-born workers. Thirteen, however, have returned to the "old country." Nineteen persons in all moved in with other members of the family and became dependent on them. The chief use of relatives, however, was in job hunting.

Other factors were also important in determining the mobility of groups. The responsibility of a family was a severe check upon mobility. A single person can leave town without much ceremony; a whole family cannot easily depart. Possibly the daughter is still in school and wishes to finish. Or possibly some other member of the family is working. The wife may not be willing to forsake her church committee or parents' association. If the family has boarders, it may hesitate to abandon this one source of income. All the ties which knit together a community of individuals are at work in holding families in town. However irrational these factors may seem, they exist and cannot be overlooked by social investigators.

These factors being considered, it is not surprising to note that the 152 persons who moved away compose 128 different families. About half of all the persons who moved, moved alone. Another 26 families were two-person units. And only in 22 cases were there any children in the units which moved.

Home ownership is another factor limiting the mobility of the group. By far the greater number of mill workers lived in company tenements. In 1930 only 18 mill employees owned their own houses. This group is in some senses selective, but in other respects quite representative. All of the house owners were over 30

and most of them over 40 years old. Thus, even without houses, those people would be less mobile than younger people. The distribution between skilled and unskilled was even, there being a slight balance in favor of the unskilled worker. The Kingsville home owners do not represent a special class of prosperous workers. For most of them their property represents the principal item in their assets.

Now in a stranded town the value of property falls. Declining population further aggravates this shrinkage. At current market value Kingsville property is worth not more than 30 cents on the dollar. The turnover is nil, nobody wants to buy land or buildings in a stranded town. Most of the home owners already had mortgages and those who did not cannot get them now. Banks will not lend one cent on any property in Kingsville. Thus, property value is either frozen tight or so shrunken as to be of little use to a person wishing to realize any cash on his home. In every sense of the word Kingsville home owners are saddled. Those wishing to move, cannot liquidate their property, being unwilling to accept the loss of 70 or more cents per dollar of invested savings. Kingsville is fortunate in having such a small number of home owners. Had home ownership been the general rule, the stranded town situation might have been considerably more disastrous. In the neighboring village of Excelsior the majority of unemployed workers are home owners and cannot possibly move.

The advantages of property owners are few. In return for free rent they must pay taxes at the unprecedented rate of \$41.50. Those who receive rent from tenants have about enough for the taxes. Thus, the status of the home owners at best is no better than that of the numerous unemployed, living rent-free in company tenements. Furthermore, jobless home owners may have more difficulties in getting help from the town than relief cases without property. These thrifty people, however, are more likely to take care of themselves in hard times. In regard to income from the land, moreover, the property owners have an advantage. Chicken-yards, one-cow barns, and backyard gardens are features which

the company tenants lack. All these factors combine to make the home owners an immobile group.

On the other hand, non-property owners are held in Kingsville by the low rents. In urban centers rent is a major item in the budget. In rural districts rent is almost negligible. About \$15 per month is top rent in town; less desirable tenements may rent as low as \$7 per month. These prices would be difficult to equal elsewhere. Further, we must remember that only 75 of the 202 mill families are paying rent at all. Although the other families still receive the monthly bill, no steps are taken about collecting so long as the family is jobless. Thus, jobless families by remaining in Kingsville are able to reduce a sustenance budget by about one-fifth. This induces many families to restrict their job hunting activities to the neighborhood of Kingsville. Thus, the King Company, at much expense, is taking care of the housing of workers engaged in several neighboring mills, a fact which considerably reduces the running expenses of the rival companies.

Were there other more general factors at work in determining the relative mobility or immobility of job hunters? Sex differentiation was important, the women proving to be more mobile. In the total female group more than one-third (38.8 percent) have left town. Less than one-quarter (23.3 percent) of the males have moved. The number of females was increased by the 15 young girls who married out-of-towners. A few boys who have since wed, have moved in with the wife's family. The skilled are slightly more mobile than the unskilled. One-fourth of the skilled males have moved, while only one-fifth of the unskilled men have found places out of town. In the female group 42.8 percent of the skilled group have moved, whereas 37.1 percent of the unskilled women are living out of town. In the latter case, however, the aggregate number of unskilled which moved outnumbers 2 to 1 the number of skilled. By far the largest single group which moved was that of the unskilled women.

Analysis by age groups reveals further differentiation. One-half of the women who moved were under 25 years of age. This large group of unskilled women discloses the importance of the

"girl-friend" in other towns. The young men were also slightly more mobile, one-third of the total group being under 25. A surprisingly high number of men in the 45-49 age group, however, have found other homes. In the older groups, as a general rule, the number of skilled who moved was considerably larger than that of the unskilled. Distribution by age groups among the males was less marked than among the females.

The optimum time for removal proved to be immediately after dismissal. The group which had definite places to go to, left at once. Thus one-third of all the people who moved were gone within four months of their dismissal. After this first spurt of emigration the flow of people out of town continued at a much slower but fairly constant rate.

Regarding the more intangible factors, mill officials feel that the emigrant group represented the best stock in the mill population. The exodus of the younger and more energetic group leaves Kingsville with a residue of older and of less efficient workers to care for. Thus, the labor population now left in Kingsville would not be ideal for operating the mill, were it to open. The Company blames its failure, in part, to an overgenerous policy towards its older employees.

Such are some of the principal problems met by Kingsville job hunters in their quest for work. The principal handicaps growing out of the rural situation of Kingsville were distance, with its corollaries, time and expense; and the combination of factors restricting mobility. To these must be added the limited industrial resources of the region and the handicap of the non-resident in getting employment.

CHAPTER XVII

Subsistence Adjustment in a Stranded Industrial Town

When the King Company, woolen and worsted mill, finally shut its doors in February 1932, the village of Kingsville was cut off from its one source of support.

The general decline in industrial employment in New England, especially in the textile industries, made it doubtful whether the workers thus displaced could consider their unemployment merely temporary. Whether the problem be temporary or permanent, it is necessary to analyze all the other resources of the community for providing livelihood for its members, considering particularly the agricultural adjustment of this rural-industrial village.

The home garden or subsistence farm is a resource of especial interest in such a rural community. Will such a community take advantage of its rural situation and turn to the soil for help? How will industrial workers take to the land? Which groups have taken advantage of this resource, and which have not? Of how much value, in balancing a depleted budget, is a home garden? What is the relation of the home garden to the relief situation? To what extent is the family type itself a factor in this adjustment?

There is ample land about Kingsville which is suited to vegetable crop production. The village and much of the surrounding countryside is the property of the King Company. The owners of the Company feel some responsibility for the welfare of their workers, a fact established by the practice of allowing unemployed workers to remain, rent-free, in company tenements. In the Company land are ample tracts which proved their value as crop land during the war. In recent years the land has been used for hay production only.

THE GARDENS

In the spring of 1933 the Company announced that it would lend its land without charge to any of its former employees who wished to take up gardening. This was *not a project*; the rôle of the Company ended where it began. No further aid was offered, and no organization of any kind established.

The problem of obtaining land was thus simplified. The Company land is very good for raising crops. It consists of two large tracts, on the hillsides on either side of the valley in which the village is built. The land has been cleared of stones and other obstructions and would be suitable for plowing in one piece. The soil is properly drained and the slope too slight to be a disadvantage. The growing season in this region is about 130 days and is thus suitable for most of the standard New England vegetables including potatoes.

Although the Company land on the hillside is suitable for economical operation as a unit, it is for that very reason less suitable for patch-garden operations, for which the convenience and protection of the backyard are better adapted. The workers' houses are clustered together in the village with the result that only a few backyard gardens are possible. The distance to the outlying hills is prohibitive to the less capable and the less ambitious workers. And because of its location the land is naturally more or less unprotected. The result is obvious in the all-too-frequent complaint of the workers that while one person may do the cultivating, another may come at night to do the harvesting.

In spite of these disadvantages, the opportunity has proved tempting to between 90 and 95 families out of the 215 families composing the mill population. (Counting home gardens and farm gardens, which will be mentioned later, the total of the families keeping gardens is 120 out of 215.) Gardens are grouped side by side on the hills, without fences between them. Divisions are indicated by small unplowed strips or merely by stakes. The most popular crop is the potato, which plays an important rôle in every diet. The remainder of each garden is divided according to taste among the other more practical vegetables—beans, beets, carrots,

lettuce, tomatoes, etc. The average garden plot is probably about 50 by 75 feet, the larger plots being 50 by 100, and many of the smaller ones only 20 by 30. At least six enterprising individuals are nursing backyard plots of no more than 10 feet by 10 feet. All production is for home consumption. There is *no cash income* from the gardens.

The time spent in working the home garden is not an important factor in Kingsville. With unemployment general, there is almost certain to be some member of the family with time to spare. Except in the planting season, the gardens require little care. Most people spend from 30 minutes to an hour a day in their gardens, usually in the early morning or in the evening. Many who are now employed still find time for their gardens. A few, however, have said that employment during the planting season prevented their having a garden this year. Some of these lost their jobs after it was too late to repair the omission.

Cash outlay for such a garden is not prohibitive, although many families give expense as their reason for not keeping a garden. *Land* being free, the garden budget consists of *tools*, most of which were already owned, could be borrowed, or used jointly by several families; the service of a *horse and plow*, an item of about one dollar; *fertilizer*, the cost of which averages about a dollar and a half; and *seeds*, which make up the balance. The seed outlay varies, of course, with the type and size of crop desired; three or four dollars would probably cover this item. It is difficult to think the cash outlay of five to eight dollars prohibitive. On this subject, the local relief administrator commented: "Ask those people who say they cannot afford seeds if they ever asked me to help them out." He is authorized to buy seeds for those who cannot afford them.

Thus, time and cost are not important factors in selecting the group which is keeping gardens; other factors have more weight. Many people are incapable of tending a garden and many others think themselves incapable. The former group consists primarily of aged or weak persons; the latter of women and those men with imagined infirmities. Typical is the answer of one middle-aged

woman: "I couldn't do it." The inability is more moral than physical. Although most of the gardens are tended by men, there are enough cases of women gardeners to prove the task practical for women who have the will to undertake it.

Inexperience has taken its toll. Many had gained some practical experience in wartime, when every available acre was put under plow. Lectures and advice were then offered, but in general the people showed little interest in improving their methods. Between 1918 and 1933 gardens were almost unknown in prosperous Kingsville. Thus, many people who started gardens in 1933 reported a loss. Others found the yield too slight to invite renewed efforts a second season. Furthermore, the early drought of 1933 proved a severe handicap to beginners. The great majority, however, made a success of the first season and are back again with new enthusiasm. The few who dropped out are more than offset by families starting this year for the first time.

More important than experience in selecting the group which is taking to the soil is the size of the family. The accompanying table shows that the number of families keeping gardens varies directly with the number of persons in the household. Gardens are almost unknown in single-person families, the only case being that of a woman keeping boarders. Two-person families claimed to find it cheaper to buy their vegetables than to raise them. And as the size of the family increases the percentage having gardens uniformly increases. Thus, home gardens are claimed to be more economical for larger units. In larger families there is also more chance that some member will be free and able to tend a garden.

Size of Family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Not having gardens....	17	27	21	17	5	6	2	1	1	—	95
Having gardens	1	14	13	36	19	19	7	5	3	3	120
Total	18	41	34	53	24	25	9	6	4	3	215

For instance, smaller families not having gardens are often formed of such combinations as widow and daughter, or two aged persons, etc. Or again, small families with husband working and wife

tending children may not keep a garden. Except among foreign groups there is a social stigma attached to women who work in the fields. And even among the Polish group few women tend the garden. Children of the mill people are almost never seen in the fields, although grown children in large families may help. In general, it is the head of the family who tends the family garden.

Almost no distinction was found between skilled and unskilled workers in the gardening and non-gardening groups. As to racial division, the Polish group seems to have a higher proportion of gardening families, but this may be because their families are larger.

The influence of need on the gardening returns is interesting. One might expect that the harder pressed families would test this expedient. As a matter of fact, no such correlation was found. Of the total mill population, 215 families, we have seen that 120 are keeping gardens. The percentage is thus about 55.6 percent. Of these 215 families 55 have received direct full relief from the town at one time or another since the mill shut down. In this group 26 have gardens and 29 do not. The percentage of families on relief having gardens is thus about 47.2 percent, only slightly less than proportional representation for the total sample. The difference is made a little wider when we consider that the average relief family has 4.5 persons, whereas the average for the total population is only 3.8 persons. According to the correlation of gardens and size of family established above, we should thus expect the representation in relief families to be somewhat higher than 55 percent. This difference may have some significance.

At the present time, the town is giving full support to 28 families. Of these, 12 are keeping gardens this year, and 16 are not. The representation is again slightly short of proportional. The proportion of relief families not keeping gardens can readily be explained. Of the 16 two are combinations of widow and daughter; two are single-person families; and another five may be classified as consisting of people too old, sick, or for other reasons incapable of keeping gardens. Seven of the relief families without gardens, however, have at least one member who would

be capable of tending a garden, and are of such size that the home garden would be economically justified.

What is the value of the home garden to the family? This is the most important question in appraising the movement. Few housewives keep any figures on the subject. The average saving for a small garden-keeping family is estimated at between \$40 and \$60 a year. The variation, however, is large. A few families in 1934 took a loss on their gardens and several cleared by a discouragingly small margin. The usual story, however, is more hopeful. Many families raise enough potatoes to carry them through until springtime. Canning is popular among the women, and a good-sized supply of beans, beets, carrots, tomatoes, etc., is laid up. It is common for one hundred and more cans to be put up by an industrious housewife. The influence of the home garden on the grocery budget is difficult to estimate, so great is the variation. About a dollar a week is saved by garden-keeping families. The proportion of the budget this represents varies, of course, with the size of the family. The average size of the family keeping a garden is 4.5 persons, as opposed to 3.1 persons in families without gardens. The saving per person is thus about \$9 to \$10 per year. Local grocery stores report a very marked drop in the volume of vegetable business since the initiation of the home garden movement. The total value of home garden production may be estimated at about \$4,000, a theoretical loss which must be divided among the four local grocery stores. Since the families did not have the \$4,000 it was no real loss. If they spent any money for these products, it would have come out of other expenditures mainly at the same stores.

What relation has the home garden movement to the relief situation? Relief officials are mildly in favor of the movement, but have not visualized accurately the potentialities of such a project. An effective policy is handicapped by frequent changes of membership of the relief board. No sooner does one learn the situation than another is appointed. Furthermore, in 1934 there was some uncertainty among the local administrators regarding the attitude of the Emergency Relief Administration toward

gardens,—whether they should be compulsory wherever possible, and how much aid could be given. Thus, the project was not pushed in 1934. Gardens were entirely optional.

The town direct relief appropriation for 1934 was about \$12,000, although at the present rate of increase in the number of families on relief, the budget will probably have to run between \$15,000 and \$17,000. (How the deficit was met is not yet determined.) This does not include the Emergency Relief Administration budget, which is taking care of another large group of relief families, but about which it is difficult to plan more than a month ahead. If all the 28 families now supported by the town kept small gardens, the total savings to it would be about \$1,500 for 1934, almost 10 percent of the total relief budget. The actual savings from the 12 relief families which do keep gardens may be estimated at about \$600. Officials feel that gardens should be compulsory, where possible, another year.

Have gardens had any effect on the relief expense? Authorities agreed that they had only a very slight effect. Representing a small proportion of the total family budget expected, there are few if any cases where this small margin would be the difference between self-support and relief. Most of the cases on the town are for full relief. (Not included in this count are the large numbers of jobless families who took advantage of a free ton of coal.) Officials in neighboring towns have come to the same conclusions regarding garden projects in their own communities.

As to the intangible values derived from the home garden, little need be said. The character of the gardening families existed prior to the gardens. It was more important in selecting the group which has taken up gardening. The gardens do not occupy enough time to constitute an important factor in redirecting the use of leisure time. In this regard, the home garden is quite different, as we shall see below, from the real subsistence farm, by which an active interest and real occupation is afforded. No doubt many families keeping gardens gain some moral satisfaction in the thought that at least they are trying to help.

The attitude of the mill workers towards the garden and

towards the gardeners is not clearly defined. The subject is not under general discussion and, in general, "attitudes" hardly exist, one way or the other. It is common, however, to hear the non-gardening group condemned as lazy. And the latter group feels sufficient pressure to manufacture excuses.

The attitude of the local farmer class towards the garden movement is more explicit. With the population of Kingsville out of work, the burden of supporting the town falls on the farmers. The extent of this added burden is testified by the taxrate. In normal times property owners were taxed at a rate of \$25 per \$1000 assessed value. In 1932 this rate rose to \$30; in 1933 to \$38. The recommended rate for the current year is \$41.50, and it is common to hear talk of a \$50 rate for 1935. This fairly well absorbs the narrow margin on which the New England dairy farmer must compete with his fellows and with the ever-threatening West. The result is that Chadwick farmers are not more than clearing expenses and those with loans or mortgages to pay off are running in the red. Thus, the greatest interest of the Chadwick farmer is to get Kingsville off his shoulders.

As a means of reducing taxes to reason, the garden expedient is highly approved by the farmer class. Since there are no truck farmers in Chadwick, the home garden production in no way competes with the business of local farmers. Some farmers openly favor the movement as a "blow to the hated chain-stores in Kingsville."

The inefficiency of the patch-garden system is painful to the farmers, who are accustomed to different farming practices. One suggested a community project, operated economically on the large scale for which the hillside company plots are suited. Labor would be supplied jointly by all families wishing to share in the common produce. Greater efficiency would result from the direction of a foreman experienced in gardening. Thus, greater produce per family would follow, and at less expense. The author of the proposal sees also some advantage in a feeling of community responsibility and co-operation which would result. The scheme is idealistic, but certainly is sound on the agricultural side.

The social factors involved, however, require more careful consideration.

Some 90 to 95 gardens, which we have been describing, are company gardens. The balance of the 120 gardens is divided between home gardens of small property owners, and farm gardens. The home gardens differ in no essential, except convenience, from the company gardens, and thus require no separate treatment. The farm garden, however, demands special notice.

Arrangements by which farm gardens are obtained and run are various. Most of the farmers have ample land suitable for crop production, which they claim they will be glad to lend as a means of reducing their taxes. Typical is the situation of one farmer interviewed. A large field which he had hoped to put into alfalfa this season was winter-killed; it cannot be used again until it has been plowed under and cropped for a year. He cannot afford to do this himself and would almost pay to let someone else use the land. No one has applied.

Between 10 and 15 persons have made some arrangement for farm gardens. In return for occasional help to the farmer during busy seasons, they are given generous plots of crop land, often as much as one-third of an acre, for their own use. In addition, they are allowed the use without charge of the farmer's horse and plow, as well as of other tools. The farmer may also help with fertilizer or with advice. Naturally the returns from such a farm garden are considerably more substantial than from the company plots. It is thus surprising that more people have not used this resource. The inaccessibility of the farms to workers without transportation may account partially for the lack of response. The farmers usually prefer to have relief cases on their land, as results here are of more importance for the tax situation. Farm labor is sufficiently valuable, however, so that any man willing to lend an occasional hand would be able to make such an arrangement.

Before turning to the real subsistence farmer, we must mention farm labor as a resource. Farm labor is a type of employment and does not differ in many respects from the other wage-paying

resources within a commuting radius of Kingsville. It is mentioned here partially for completeness in our treatment of the soil as a resource, and partially as an illustration of how well or how poorly mill workers are suited to farm work.

Under New England conditions labor is a difficult item in the farm budget. The farmer receives four to four and one-half cents a quart for milk up to his quota, and not more than one and a half cents for surplus. This price cannot be raised without raising the price of milk and thus introducing competition from the West. The other alternative of cutting the distributor's margin is deemed impractical, at present at least. So long as the farmer does his own work he can get by on this narrow margin. But he cannot afford to pay the price of labor set by the industrial market.

The result is that most of the farms in this region are really run short-handed. They are family farms. Of the 100 farms in Chadwick, practically all could use a hired man, at not more than \$25 per month, plus room and board, or possibly at \$1 to \$1.50 a day, without board. Furthermore, extra help at the latter rate is required in busy seasons—haying, apple-picking, etc.

One would expect that the opportunity of farm labor would appeal to families without work. On the whole, however, the mill population has ignored this resource. Farmers often come to town for extra help and are flatly refused by unemployed accustomed to the \$14 a week minimum wage. Others frankly prefer the Emergency Relief Administration wages and hours to farm work. The farmers complain that in addition to competing with industry they are now forced to compete with the government. Further, the hours of work and the strenuous nature of farm labor are not pleasant in contrast to mill work. Thus, even support by the town is preferred by many as an alternative to a farm "living." Only 17 members of the total mill population have done any farm labor for pay.

THE RETURN TO THE FARM

In concluding our treatment of the land as a resource for the stranded rural community, we must now mention the real farmers

—part-time and full-time—among the former mill workers. In this group are included all workers deriving some *cash income* from their farm projects. Eleven of the mill families are now engaged in such commercial farming. The group is too small for statistical analysis. They may be classified roughly into part-time, or true “subsistence” farmers; and full-time farmers. The criteria employed are more or less subjective, but are based in general on the size of the enterprise, the amount of work required, the approximation to a living income, and the farmer’s attitude towards the project, whether or not he is looking for other work, etc. Of the eleven, four are now classed as part-time projects, incapable of affording a full living. Two are anxious to expand to full-time dimensions if possible. Before the shut-down of the mill, four families were supplementing their income with part-time farms. *Two of these have subsequently expanded their operations to provide a livelihood, one as a permanent measure, and one as an expedient until the industrial horizon clears.* Thus, seven in all are classed as full-time enterprises. This does not imply, however, that the proprietors are actually receiving the living they hoped for. Every possible step in the scale from failure to success is represented, with the result that generalization on the success of mill workers as farmers is impossible. For illustration of some of the problems involved we may examine two case histories. Each case is specific, however, and cannot be generalized.

Mr. W. is a man of 49 years, married, with two children in his household, one grown and one small. He worked in the mill 28 years, ending as overseer of the weaving department, at \$45 a week. He lost his job in February 1932 along with the rest of the workers. He had always wanted to take up farming and had gained a little experience as a farm laborer. After a year of futile job hunting, he embarked on his enterprise in the spring of 1933.

The farm selected was an eight-acre plot in the Chadwick region, with house, barn, small orchard, and a pasture suitable also for crop production. The land was in pretty good condition, but the buildings in poor repair. The initial outlay required was

\$3,500, paid in part from savings and in part by loan. In addition about \$800 was required as capital outlay for necessary improvements, purchase of livestock, and equipment, etc. \$1,200 was borrowed on a life insurance policy, the extra \$400 to be applied towards running expenses—feed, fertilizer, manure, etc. Two cows and two calves form the nucleus of the enterprise. In addition, a flock of 30 chickens is kept for easily realizable cash.

Against this outlay, the first year's total cash yield from the farm was discouragingly small, being estimated at \$150, the income from eggs, milk, and apples. In addition food worth about \$100 was produced for home consumption and thus may be deducted from the food budget. This cash yield cleared by only \$25 the amount actually spent in running expenses (as distinguished on one side from capital expenses, and on the other from living expenses). And if interest on the mortgage is included among running expenses, as of course it is in fact, Mr. W. goes in the red.

Mr. W. was saved by the fact that his wife kept boarders. From these a cash income of an additional \$1,134 was obtained, an amount which clears by more than \$300 the total food budget, and about balances when applied to the total family living expenses. All factors in the budget being considered, Mr. W. breaks a little better than even on his first year. He is still, however, a long way from clearing the mortgage.

Although Mr. W. is at present merely a subsistence farmer, he is anxious to become a full-time farmer. He has not accurately visualized, however, the process of expansion. He would not take a mill job out of town now, and is uncertain whether he would return to the King mill, were it to open. He feels that the last year has done wonders for his health and general morale, and that it has taken years off his age. It has given him something definite to occupy his time and his attention. Further, he feels he has at least checked the discouraging outflow of savings during the long period of consumption without income. The farm house, of an early American type, is probably an improvement over the company tenement in which he lived. He also feels that the farm

atmosphere will provide work and recreation for his fourteen year old son. Thus, in his own opinion, the venture is a success.

From the point of view of the more experienced farmer, his handicaps are great. Farming is not easily learned by a man in the mid-forties. The technique of handling the tools, difficult in itself, must be seasoned by years of experience in farm management. Lack of capital is also a handicap. Some reserve is required to cover seasonal upsets. It is also very difficult to compete with farmers whose investment is clear of mortgage, especially considering the small margin within which these farms survive. And finally the scale of the enterprise seems futile to real farmers who cannot see a living in less than 100 acres. Thus Mr. W. must be rated as a part-time farmer, whose real income, at present, is in boarders. If his farm work prevents his taking a wage-paying job, should he be able to find one, then the farm may be abandoned. As an expedient during unemployment, however, the enterprise is working.

For the purpose of contrast and comparison, we may sketch the case of Mr. J. An unskilled laborer, married, with six small children and an aged mother to support, he lost his mill job in March 1930. After three years without a penny coming in, Mr. J. took a farm in June 1933. His only experience had been as occasional farm laborer.

The farm selected was an abandoned farm in the Chadwick region, once a first rate place, but now with buildings in poor shape and land, after years of idleness, in wretched condition. The farm is 112 acres, but is mostly scrub brush, too small for timber and too thick for pasture. The farm cost \$3,000 and was financed in part by a Federal loan, and in part by a mortgage (family). Mr. J. put the last penny of his shrunken savings into a few essential improvements and into livestock. Two cows and a calf were the original livestock.

Lack of capital and inexperience have combined to make Mr. J.'s venture a sad one. The cleared area requires manure which he has not money to buy. The result is that not more than a ton of hay was produced on the whole farm this year, and most of the

supply had to be bought with borrowed money. The pastures are poor and require attention. As a result one of the cows is producing only four quarts of milk a day. After the expensive process of raising the calf to a yearling, it became sick and died. Further, the only horse died recently, and Mr. J. must finish the season with a borrowed animal. The orchard is not sprayed, and will not produce a penny's worth this year. The garden is also in poor condition and will not yield any cash income this year. Mr. J. ascribes the failure of his garden to using cheap seed and no fertilizer. Both have contributed, and the appearance of the garden proves that inexperience is also a factor.

Mr. J. has just purchased two calves of good stock in which he finds his only hope. But it will be two seasons before he gets a drop of milk from these animals. For a man without capital, the venture appears short-sighted. And perhaps Mr. J. does not realize that in this region it is more expensive to raise a calf than to buy a cow.

Looking with mixed pride and consternation at his yellowed garden, and enumerating in broken English his many losses, Mr. J. sees no prospect brighter than to die this winter on the farm. He would probably prefer to abandon the whole business and consider it a horrible nightmare. But he is in over his depth now and cannot abandon the enterprise. When winter comes he will go out and seek an industrial job. Even if he gets one he cannot commute from the isolated farm region without a car. He would thus be faced with the expensive proposition of boarding out, and his family left to tend the farm and take care of themselves. At present the farm requires all Mr. J.'s time, the children being too young to help; he has not even time to look for other work.

In return for his labor from morning till night, Mr. J. gets no income at all. The farm is hopelessly sub-marginal in its present condition. About \$1,000 invested in manure, spray, fertilizer, and necessary improvements would be needed to realize the latent possibilities of the farm. Without financial assistance to this extent, there is little prospect of Mr. J. ever paying back his debts. Timely advice might have prevented some of the losses.

Had Mr. J. been induced to keep a flock of chickens, he would have had at least some easy cash income. But he did not purchase a flock and cannot now afford one. He is without cash to buy bread for his children, and stores are threatening to stop credit.

The case is a history of mistakes from beginning to end. What Mr. J. needed was certainly not a farm like this. We were inclined to agree when he remarked, "I don't know why I ever come here."

Space prevents description of further cases, but these will illustrate some of the problems of subsistence garden farming as practised by mill workers. These facts do not necessarily bear, however, on a subsistence farming project properly directed and carefully controlled.

CHAPTER XVIII

Weak Family Social Organization

Having studied the problems encountered in job hunting and in agricultural adjustment, we are ready to estimate the social weight of unemployment in Kingsville. First, however, it is necessary to mention a popular fallacy regarding rural unemployment in general. Most writers are inclined to call urban unemployment much more disastrous. Their reason, of course, is that industry is the only possible support for urban labor. The rural mill is pictured as drawing its help from the farming population of the surrounding countryside. Whenever the mill is open only a part of the time or is closed altogether, the workers simply fall back on the soil. Although the land may not provide a full living, at least it will provide their food and shelter, the two major items in a subsistence budget.

If true anywhere, this notion is not true in Kingsville as it is organized and as its families see life. The workers here are industrialists only, not farmers. Most of them have always been in industry, and industry is their only possible support as long as they and their families remain the type they are. As an economic supplement to part-time industrial employment, the presence of the soil here is only a potential advantage. For complete unemployment the soil is poor compensation where the families are of this type. The unemployed industrial family has many disadvantages in a rural community. Other industrial resources are fewer and less accessible. Rural distances involve greater expense for transportation. Home ownership is a liability. As we have pointed out, there are additional complications when residents of Kingsville seek work in other one-mill towns.

Thus, however great may be the advantages of rural industry when the plant is working or when the job is a part-time occupation

with farming, we must insist that the rural situation is a serious liability during times of unemployment. Our conclusions show that rural unemployment is longer than urban and that industrial jobs in a rural area are harder to get than similar jobs in cities. The comparison of the results which are demonstrated here with any standard study of urban unemployment will bear out these conclusions.¹

The difference between rural and urban unemployment proved one of kind as well as of degree. The most marked difference was that between the comparative situation of the skilled and unskilled workers. The usual conclusion of most unemployment surveys is that the unskilled laborers are far better off than the skilled. That this is the rule in most urban situations seems well established. Having no one talent, the unskilled worker is more adaptable. It is of no special importance whether he is working in a textile mill or a rubber plant. When dismissed in one plant, he may start the next day in another. On the other hand, what possible service can a loom-fixer be to a radio factory? In urban situations, the skilled worker must find work of the same kind or drop to an unskilled level.

Furthermore, in most urban industries there is a rapid turnover of the unskilled laboring groups. A frequent comment of laboring people is: "You can always get an unskilled job in the city." No reference to the duration of the job is implied. In the skilled urban positions, however, turn-over is less rapid. Thus, the unskilled worker has a double advantage: he can apply at more different plants and vacancies are more frequent in the type of position he is equipped to fill.

The situation in Kingsville is exactly the reverse. Several factors account for the difference. One is that Kingsville is a small village and not a city. There was only one plant and when that closed, jobs had to be sought elsewhere. Now most of the neighboring mill towns are able to draw all their unskilled help from their own community. We have already pointed out why

¹ See, for example, the study *After the Shutdown* by Clague, Couper and Bakke, Yale Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, 1934.

these mills, whenever possible, prefer local laborers to non-residents. Having no special talent to offer, the unskilled non-resident must wait until the local market is exhausted. This local market being sufficient for normal purposes the unskilled commuters can get jobs only during times of "rush-orders." Furthermore, the turn-over of rural industrial labor is very small. Other local opportunities being few, the unskilled workers often remain in the same plant for their entire working career. Thus, first-shift vacancies are rare in rural industries.

The other reason for the difference noted here is that Kingsville is located in a textile district. A weaver is a weaver and a wool-sorter a wool-sorter, regardless of residence. Local skilled help is also preferred; but there is seldom a large floating population of unemployed skilled workers to draw upon. Consequently, every expansion usually involves calling in outsiders. Thus, when an extra shift is put on at a neighboring mill, the skilled textile men from Kingsville are drawn upon. The surplus labor market of Kingsville being accessible, neighboring plants may easily expand and contract with business fluctuations. These plants feel no long-time responsibility toward the outside help. They do not have to house them or support them during unemployment. After an order is completed, they are all dropped and forgotten. Thus as we shall see, even skilled workers have little chance of getting steady work. Had there not been other textile mills at hand, they might have been as badly off as the unskilled laborers. As it was, they have had to content themselves with doing temporary jobs for the different mills.

With this picture in view, we may now turn to the facts of unemployment in Kingsville. First we must mention the group which was unable to find any work at all. Deducting the group which never looked for work (131) from the total, 515, there remain 384 persons actually looking for work. Of this number 51, or 13 percent, have not succeeded in getting a single job since dismissal. Of most importance was the division between the skilled and the unskilled job seekers. In the total skilled group which looked for work, only 3.8 percent were unable to find any. Among

the unskilled job hunters, however, 20.3 percent were never able to get work of any kind. Among the males, this differentiation was even more pronounced. All but 1.4 percent of the skilled males who sought work found it. Over one-fourth (26.2 percent) of the unskilled males were totally unsuccessful.

In the female group, however, the unskilled women fared slightly better than the skilled. Whereas 15.1 percent of the skilled women looked without avail only 12.9 percent of the unskilled women who looked could not find work. This difference may possibly be accounted for by the larger number of unskilled girls who took housework. Furthermore, skilled women whose talent competes with male workers have little chance in these times. So long as any male weaver or spinner is out of work, it is almost impossible for a woman skilled in these arts to find work. Sewing is one of the few skilled textile jobs which is all female. Several of the unskilled positions in woolen and worsted mills are for women only.

The various age groups also fared differently. The older workers are the worst hit. The fact that so many of the Kingsville workers were over 45 years thus aggravates a bad situation. The discrimination of "up-to-date" plant operators against men as old as 45 is very pronounced. An important cause of this is the fact that insurance companies charge a higher premium to protect older workers. Since insurance statistics are regarded as infallible, the only interpretation of this extra charge is that older workers have more accidents, and this, of course, implies that they are generally less efficient. Quite possibly the mill records also show figures on the disadvantages of older help. Whether the discrimination is justified or not, it presents a serious problem. "What are they going to do with us?" is the frequent query of older workers. "We might as well dig our graves and climb in." One suggested chloroform. When we consider that half of all the unskilled males over 45 who actually looked could not find work, we can appreciate their discouragement. And this number does not include the large group of older men who dropped out of the market of their own accord. The fate of the older skilled males contrasts interestingly

with this situation. Only one in the 44 skilled males over 45 who looked for work was unable to find it.

The middle age group, from 30-45 years, was uniformly more successful in finding work. Only one tenth of the unskilled males of this group were totally unsuccessful in their job hunting activities. In contrast only one of the 67 skilled males in their prime failed to find work. Young men fared somewhat better than old men, but not so well as men in their prime. Of the unskilled men under 25, one-fourth found no work. All of the skilled youths looked for work and found it. The relative status of the different age groups, however, does not overlap in any point the major division of skilled and unskilled. In respect to finding work, the skilled, regardless of age, were more successful than the unskilled. A skilled man of 60 has a better chance of getting a job than an unskilled man in his prime. In some respects, as we shall see later, age grouping cuts through the division of skilled and unskilled.

The female group is too small for detailed analysis by age groups. As we have seen, most of the older women dropped out of the market. Of the five unskilled women over 45 who looked for work, only two failed to find any; and of the four skilled women in this category one was unsuccessful. The women in their prime were uniformly successful; all but four of 38 females in the 30-45 age group found work. The proportion was slightly in favor of the unskilled. Youth was less successful; nine out of the total 56 women under 25 who looked for work failed to find it. The position of the unskilled girls was a bit less favorable than that of the skilled. Thus, among the women the general advantage of skilled over unskilled does not hold throughout. In selecting the groups of women which could not find work age is more important.

Turning attention now to the group which did find work, we ask, How long did it take for the workers displaced by the shutdown to get other jobs? Or in other words, how long were the Kingsville workers unemployed? Data here, of course, do not include the persons who have been unemployed ever since for the reason that they never looked for work. Jobs classified as work

relief (Civil Works Administration and Emergency Relief Administration) were not counted as employment. About two-thirds of the workers dismissed by the King Company since 1930 have had at least one other job at some time since dismissal.

The easiest time for finding new jobs proved to be immediately after dismissal. The men found work more quickly than the women. Thus 43 percent of the men and 34 percent of the women who looked for work got some job within the first year.

The unemployment period of the skilled and unskilled workers compares interestingly. Almost half (46.4 percent) of the skilled males were working again in the first year. Two-thirds of this number found work within the first four months.² Thus, for both groups the first four months was the best period for getting jobs. We do not know how to explain this. The correlation has no bearing on the market situation; for the date of first jobs are relative to the date of dismissal, and not to any one calendar date. Thus, whether one is dismissed in 1930, 1931, or 1932, or whether one is dismissed in summer or winter is all beside the point. The factor must thus be an individual one. Possibly all the people who had definite leads followed them at once leaving a residue of persons with less definite plans. Thus, it may be that all men who had an *entrée* in another plant got located at once, the group without such an *entrée* would naturally take longer in finding work. Or possibly the best workers get jobs at once, leaving a residue of less capable laborers. Perhaps there is some psychological factor involved. Job hunters may be less active after a prolonged period of unemployment than when they are first laid off. In any event, the facts speak for themselves.

In the group of the male job hunters who went two years or more before the first job, the division of skilled and unskilled is still more pronounced. Forty-four percent of the unskilled job hunters were still out of work at the end of the second year after their dismissal. In the skilled group all but 22 percent had found work by this time. In the group unemployed for more than two

² In the unskilled group, less than 2/5 (38.9%) got work the first year. In this group $\frac{3}{4}$ were located within four months.

years the proportion of unskilled was exactly twice as high as that of the skilled. Attention is called to the surprisingly high percentage in both cases. Two years is not the total time lost, but the period elapsed before a job of any kind. As we shall see later, many of the people who did find work were soon unemployed again. Over half of this unskilled group was still out of work after the end of the third year after their dismissal. Of the 31 skilled males still out after two years, 13 had not found work at the end of the third year. All of the groups here analyzed were actually looking for work. These figures help to visualize the tremendous burden of the unemployed in the stranded town situation.

The duration of the first unemployment in the female group closely parallels that of the males. Here 45.4 percent of the skilled women who looked found work in the first year, while only 31.1 percent of the unskilled were equally fortunate. In the skilled group 27.2 percent were without work for more than two years; 40.8 percent of the unskilled women had still found no work after the two year period. Thus, although we have seen that a slightly higher proportion of skilled women never found any work, those who did find work, found it more quickly than the unskilled.

For the individual job hunters age proved to be a more important factor in determining the length of unemployment than skill or its lack. Older men were out the longest time. Less than one-third of all the unskilled men over 45 who looked for work found jobs in the first year, while more than half of this group were out of work more than two years. The skilled old men fared slightly better. A bit over one-third of their number found work in the first year. And slightly over one-fifth were still out of work after two years.

Men in their prime (30-45) required much less time to find work than did the older men. Thus, in the unskilled group of this age three-fifths were working within a year and less than one-eighth out of work more than two years. In this group only, the fate of the skilled workers was at a disadvantage when compared with the unskilled. The difference, however, is slight. A bit over

half of the skilled men in this group worked again the first year, while one-seventh were out for two years or more. But all men in their prime, regardless of skilled and unskilled differentiation, were unemployed less than the other groups.

The youths again fared better than the old men, but not so well as the middle-aged men. A bit less than half of the skilled men under 25 were working within a year after dismissal. Just half found work after two or more years of unemployment. Unskilled youths were in exactly the same position as unskilled old men. Less than a third of the unskilled boys under 25 found work in the first year, while more than half were still out of work after two years. Thus, we see that in the time required to find work, age is more important, cutting through the general division of skilled and unskilled. However, skilled men were less unemployed *for their age* than were unskilled. When we recall the large portion of the total mill group composed of youths and aged persons, the total aspect is less encouraging.

The female group which looked for work is too small for statistical analysis by age groups. In this group the young women found work most quickly. The period of first unemployment grows continually longer as age advances. In general, the young women found work before the young men; almost half of this group (largely skilled) found work the first year. Older women, however, were unemployed somewhat longer than the men of corresponding ages. The advantage of the young women is probably due in part to the greater mobility of this group and in part to the discrimination of employers against married women.

These facts fairly well demonstrate the principles outlined at the beginning of this section regarding rural unemployment in general and regarding the comparative status of the skilled and the unskilled workers in particular. The age differentiation seems to be a characteristic of unemployment in general. The duration of the unemployed period, however, is peculiar to the stranded rural-industrial town. When we call to mind the various factors outlined in the section on job hunting, most of the unique features here presented are easily explained.

Were other factors at work in determining the time lost before other work was found? Possibly the intensity of job hunting is a factor. Of course, one cannot get any accurate scale of the vigor of a job seeker's efforts. For the purposes of getting a general impression of the significance of this factor, the male job hunters were classified into two groups: one having other means of support and one depending entirely on its own income. Criteria employed were rigid, other support being conceded only to persons having some other wage income in the household. (Evidence indicates that in depression time families pool their incomes and draw from a common source). Thus other resources than actual wage income were not indicated. The results show that other family income does seem to play its rôle in influencing the ardor of the job hunter. In the group with no other family income, 40 percent had found a job in the first year (two-thirds of these in the first four months). In the group of job hunters with another wage earner in the family only 27 percent found work within a year. Over 50 percent of the group with other support were still out of work after two years and only 25 percent of the no-support group had not found work in this period. It is possible that some of the difference here noted may be due to other common characteristics. No attempt was made to abstract differences due to age or skill which might play a rôle. In spite of other factors, however, the differences here noted are probably significant.

Approaching the problem from another angle, results were less marked. We thought that possibly the heads of families would be more intensive job seekers than persons without other dependents. However, this proved not to be the case. Even if the heads of large families looked for work more intensively, results show that they took longer to find it. Thus, while the heads of households of four or less persons average 15.2 months before the first job, heads of households of six or more persons were without work 20.3 months. Expressed in another way, the average size of the families of men finding work in the first year was 3.9 persons and men out of work more than a year average 4.3 persons

per family. We are inclined to explain this difference by other factors. In general the unskilled workers had larger families; and further the heads of larger families would be older men. In larger households, moreover, there is more possibility that there will be some other family income. Thus, we conclude that if the family situation has any relation at all to unemployment, the significant variables are much more complex than mere size.

All unemployment in the preceding section was measured in relation to time of dismissal. But as we have pointed out, dismissals were staggered over two whole years. For purposes of generalization, this was a most fortunate circumstance. Had all the workers been let off at the same calendar date, the comparative employment status would always be related to a particular market situation. Freaks of the market would thus seriously influence data and it would be impossible to abstract the general from the particular. We have been proceeding in the belief that the staggering dismissal date would more or less balance particular and establish certain more general principles. We believe the character of the results were such as to suggest certain principles governing rural industrial unemployment in general. Other results, as we have pointed out, apply only in the particular situation of Kingsville. Where there are exceptions or peculiarities in the results, we shall probably have to explain these by market freaks.

Thus, it is necessary to note briefly market fluctuations in order to check our results. Of all the skilled workers who remained in Kingsville, 46 percent found work during the first year after dismissal. Considering now the group of skilled workers dismissed in 1930, we find that exactly 50 percent found other jobs within a year. The 1931 group found work only for 41 percent of their number; and 48 percent of the 1932 were working within one year. These differences are probably due to the particular labor markets in which the different groups were placed. Possibly the samples were not representative. However, this may be, it does not seem to obscure the more general situation. Of the total unskilled group which remained in town, only 23 percent found work in the first year. (Note, in passing, how this figure compares

with the 35 percent average when the unskilled workers who moved away are included.) Here the market fluctuations proved more important: in the 1930 group 33 percent worked again within a year; and only 14 percent of the 1931 group found work in this period. And of the 1932 group 20 percent got jobs in the prescribed period. This well shows the danger of generalizing any small sample. Be it noted, however, that the general principles set for skilled and unskilled hold throughout.

In other respects, then, particular market conditions may do more harm to our principles. There was a very marked increase in employment at the beginning of the present administration. The number of Kingsville unemployed getting new textile jobs in 1933 exceeded the combined numbers of unemployed getting new jobs for the three preceding years. Thus, a large number of the group dismissed in 1932 were counted as working in less than two years. On the other hand, a number of the workers dismissed in 1930 got jobs on the same 1933 "band wagon." These, however, were counted as unemployed more than two years. In this event, unemployment figures would be at best mere averages. However, the fact that the averages showed certain consistent characteristics leads us to believe they are useful for purposes of general comparison.

PRESENT EMPLOYMENT

We turn now to the consideration of the jobs which successful seekers finally obtained. Data here concern only the first jobs of the non-emigrant group after dismissal. We have noted that a bit less than two-thirds of the mill population has had at least one other job since the shut-down. To what extent was this first work a permanent solution for their problem? Results show that but few workers found in their first work any permanent adjustment. Most nearly approximating this were the skilled males. One-fourth of their number are still employed at their first job. Only one-ninth of the unskilled males found permanent work. In the female group one-sixth alike for both skilled and unskilled made an adjustment still satisfactory today.

All others have since become unemployed again. Many have had four or five jobs since dismissal. Thus, we must make some note of the duration of the jobs obtained by the different groups. Curiously, there was no important difference between the length of jobs found by skilled males and those found by the unskilled. 51.4 percent of the former, as oposed to 53.7 percent of the latter, were terminated in less than five months. In the number lasting over a year, the proportions were also similar. 30.8 percent of the skilled men were still in their first job after this period, while 27.7 percent of the unskilled were then working.

In the female category the differences were more pronounced, but still of little importance. Thus, whereas 58.3 percent of the skilled jobs lasted less than five months, as many as 75 percent of the jobs of the unskilled women were thus short-lived. Few lasted as long as a year. Only 16.6 percent of the skilled women were still engaged after this period; of the unskilled, all but 12.5 percent had been dismissed. These figures do not point to any significant contrasts between the status of the skilled and unskilled groups. It is noted, however, that the jobs which the women obtained were a bit more short-lived than those of the males. And, in general, the figures may help us to visualize the transience of the whole adjustment.

DURATION OF FIRST JOB

	Months						Years		
	1	1-2	3-4	5-8	9-12	1-1½	1½-2	2-3	3
Male skilled ...	12(1)	23	20(2)	17	3(2)	12(7)	7(5)	8(5)	5(4)
Male unskilled...	4	11(3)	14	8	2(1)	2	3	5(2)	5
Female skilled ..	0	4(1)	3	2(1)	1	1	0	0	1
Female unskilled	15(4)	15	6(2)	4	2(1)	3(1)	1	2	0

(Numbers in parentheses denote jobs still running.)

It had been felt, when the survey was started, that the specialty of the Kingsville unemployed would end when once they had found other work—that after temporary employment with another company their situation would be different from that of other

workers let off at the same time. This was not quite the case. As long as the workers remained in Kingsville or returned there after dismissal, their position in unemployment was much the same as that of all the unemployed in the stranded town. Possibly those workers might have a better opportunity when the mill where they were working puts on another extra shift. But, in general, the first job was unable to overcome completely the unique features of unemployment in the stranded village.

It is possible, however, that the first employment is more important than the second or third. Only when the whole town is unemployed is it completely stranded. As a commuter group grows, this constitutes a type of adaptation for the whole town, however unsatisfactory this adaptation may be. Thus, neighboring employment resources do not really exist until they are tapped for the first time. Once tapped, the flow will be easier. Thus, in this sense, the stranded town situation is considerably mitigated after the first adjustment.

When we consider the character of the new jobs of the group remaining in Kingsville, more significant results appear. Of first interest, of course, are the textile mills. Male and female found textile work in exactly the same proportions (61 percent). Thus, we see how very important was the circumstance that Kingsville was located in a textile district.

The skilled men were naturally more loyal to their own industry. Thus, 71.8 percent of the first jobs of the skilled males were in textile mills. Only 38.8 percent of the unskilled men found their next work in this line. With only two exceptions the skilled men filled skilled positions in their new textile jobs. Two cases were also noted of unskilled males learning to weave. How steady were these textile positions? There was no marked difference in the duration of the skilled and unskilled textile jobs which the men obtained. 59.1 percent of the skilled positions lasted less than five months, and 47.6 percent of the unskilled positions were over in this period. Less than one-fourth of the jobs lasted a year or longer (24.8 percent for the skilled and 23.8 percent for the unskilled).

Among the skilled women, curiously, a smaller percentage of the first jobs were in textile mills than among the unskilled. This difference is probably accounted for by a market freak (the percentages here are 50 percent for the skilled and 64.5 percent for the unskilled). In the late summer and fall of 1933 the mill in the neighboring town of North Bend almost doubled its staff. The cause of this spurt is not clear, for almost immediately afterwards employment dropped about 80 percent in the mill. This sort of fluctuation is typical of the sort of problem with which the Kingsville workers are faced in other mill jobs. Frequently the mill will put on two or even three shifts for a short period and then close up altogether. Thus, for a few weeks the mill in Lincoln was running twenty-four hours a day. Then it closed and all of the forty Kingsville men commuting to Lincoln were dismissed. Some have found work in the third shift which the Peace Woolen Mill has just opened. Returning to the North Bend episode, more than twenty Kingsville women found work there at that time. These were all unskilled women. Many were not looking for work but were willing to take a job if it dropped into their laps. For many this was the only job they have had since dismissal, and it was very short-lived. Thus, 75 percent of all the unskilled women who found work in the textile industry were out within four months. All but 25 percent of the skilled jobs lasted for a longer period. Similarly, 16.6 percent of the skilled women were still working after one year, as opposed to only 9.6 percent of the unskilled group.

One hundred thirty workers in all found their first jobs in other textile mills. As we have remarked above, the great majority of these jobs were in the home county. Seventy-five were in the neighboring mills of Peace and North Bend. The North Bend jobs were fairly unsteady, few lasting more than a month or two. The Peace employment was most steady of all. Of the 15 who found work there, 10 are still working. The other best resources for Kingsville are the more distant mills of Lincoln and East Bend, in which 35 more of the textile group found their first work. Lincoln jobs proved more steady. The balance of the textile group

found work in other more distant mills. All these other jobs were very unsteady often lasting no more than a month.

Very few persons found industrial work outside the textile industry. Only four of the skilled males and two of the unskilled males got non-textile employment. Among the women other industrial jobs were more popular. Eight of the unskilled women and one of the skilled found non-textile industrial work. Shoeshops, radioshops, and laundries in neighboring towns provided most of this employment.

Apart from textiles, the local dam construction job engaged the largest number of men. The company which is building the White Eagle Dam has made its headquarters in Kingsville. This is a large scale enterprise and attracted transients from all over the country. This influx of transients may account for the fact that the population of the town of Chadwick has dropped by only one hundred since 1930. Many are living in company tenements and several have married local girls. Fifteen of the Kingsville unemployed, most of them unskilled, found their first work on this construction job. Many others have filled in with this work between other mill jobs. The work is difficult and dangerous, and the hours are very long. Although the pay is \$28 for a full week, few remain on the job for a long period. Some of the Kingsville unemployed have found work elsewhere through transient friends. A few of the local men have traveled to other big construction jobs.

The next most popular type of work was farming, in which fourteen of the Kingsville unemployed engaged. This was the largest single group to find work in Kingsville. As shown in the preceding chapter, this group is small in spite of the opportunities of the soil because the people are not the part-time farming type. The hours and pay of farm work did not compare favorably with mill work as we noted earlier.

The balance of the men found non-industrial work as store clerks, road laborers, waiters, bartenders, barbers, janitors, etc. Those who started independent enterprises will receive comment later.

The balance of the females who found work in non-industrial

jobs was concentrated heavily in the household category. Eleven in all took housework as their solution to unemployment. Although wages are small, the jobs are easy to get and seem to last as long as the girl is willing to stay. Most of this group were unskilled. The few remaining jobs were divided between waitresses, cooks, and boarding-house keepers.

Which group was better off, the one in textiles or the one which found work in other lines? For the skilled males a larger portion of the non-textile jobs lasted longer.³ Whereas 59.1 percent of the textile jobs had ended within five months, only 36.6 percent of the other jobs were so brief. 43.3 percent of the other types of work lasted for over a year, as opposed to the 24.8 percent in the textile group. For the unskilled, however, there was no marked difference in the duration of the two types of work.

In the female group, skilled women found more steady work in the textile industry; a larger portion of the unskilled women, however, made a long-time adjustment in other types of work. This is probably due to steadiness of the housework and waitress positions.

In concluding our treatment of the jobs found by the unemployed living in Kingsville, it is necessary to make special comment on the group which found work in Kingsville itself. The work on the dam is not strictly "local."

Apart from these and the farmers, 28 persons found their next job in Kingsville. Five of these set up their own enterprise: a restaurant, a shoe repairing shop, a garage, a gas station, and a drug store. The restaurant failed, but the others are still doing business. Local business leans heavily on the more prosperous "dam" population and may have some difficulties when this group departs. Other independent enterprises were classified as odd jobs. A few of the skilled workers have been leaning on other talents—one doing electrical work, another carpentering, or plumbing, etc. At present there is hardly a living in this sort of work in Kingsville. Local painters have little work, although the whole town could

³ In non-textile jobs, 17.1% of the skilled males accepted unskilled positions.

certainly use a coat of paint. Space prevents the individual consideration of these enterprising persons.

Actual wage employment in Kingsville was available to only twenty-one of the unemployed mill workers. Seven of this number became local clerks, waiters, and bartenders. Three girls found housework in Kingsville. Four persons got civil service positions. The balance filled a wide variety of local needs, from railroad crossing guard to grammar school janitor. Of the total fifty-six jobs in Kingsville (dam included) over half were found within four months of dismissal. Although many of them were short-lived, the encouraging number of twenty-one have lasted over two years: thirteen have passed their third year. Thus, those who could find work in town seem to be better off than those forced to commute to work.

The emigrating group found work in general of the same types as the groups still living in Kingsville. In the skilled male group a high proportion took up farming. This large portion of farmers in the emigrating group held also for the unskilled group. The unskilled group which moved had a smaller representation in the textile industry, but a large proportion in other types of industrial work than the corresponding group in town.

In the female category, the skilled females were better represented in textiles, whereas the unskilled females had comparatively few jobs in this line. Other industrial jobs are represented in about the same proportions. Housework was especially popular with the girls who left town.

Can it be said that the emigrating group made a more permanent adjustment than the group remaining in town? The facts seem to indicate that this was the case. Whereas less than one-fourth of the skilled males living in town are still working, two-thirds of the corresponding group of emigrants are still engaged. (In the emigrating group, the first job since removal is here counted as the "first" job. Although some had work before removal, we have seen that the largest group moved immediately.) In the unskilled group which moved, the half which is still working is

sharply contrasted with the one-ninth of the corresponding group in town now working.

The females who moved, have also effected a more stable adjustment. As opposed to the one-sixth of the women in town who are still working, three-quarters of the skilled women and one-third of the unskilled women in the emigrating groups are still working at their first job. This does not imply that moving is an easy cure for unemployment; a large number moved *because* they happened to get good jobs. Figures here were not so accurate or complete as those on the group remaining in the town, as much of the information had to be gained by proxy; but inaccuracy could hardly account for such a marked difference.

WEAK FAMILY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

It is now two and a half years since the mill in Kingsville closed its doors. If the dislocation thus involved was merely temporary, sufficient time has now elapsed for new adjustments to be accomplished. A glance at the present employment situation, however, clearly reveals that no such adjustment has been effected.

At the time of interview 65.2 percent of the entire mill population was unemployed. If there is a non-agricultural solution for Kingsville, she has not yet found it. Kingsville today has one of the highest unemployment ratios in the state of Massachusetts. The two and a half year's trial seems to prove conclusively that the industrial employment resources of the neighboring regions are unable to support Kingsville.

When we consider that neighboring plants are running at capacity, many with two and three shifts a day, it becomes doubtful whether the situation of Kingsville is in any sense a "depression" situation for the future.

As we pointed out in the previous chapter, the soil when cultivated in an inefficient manner has not shown itself capable of supporting the unemployed on a level comparable to that provided by their former commercial occupations. The problem is not one of goods income, but of the means of getting a goods income.

The families are not apparently interested in gardening and farming. Thus, Kingsville is not able with its present family organization to take care of herself. Other facts testify vividly that this is the case. The relief rolls are advancing at an appalling rate. The number of persons on town support has doubled in the last six months and is expected to double again during the next half year. Already 215 cases are "on the town." What this indicates is not that unemployment is becoming worse. It signifies rather that the people are exhausting their savings accounts. The momentum of prosperous years can carry Kingsville little further.

So far as we can see, the solution is not an easy one. For permanent rehabilitation there are but three alternatives: to start this or another local industry, to move the people away, or to turn to a greater development of agriculture of the subsistence variety.

Any of these solutions should be acceptable. The first two have the advantage that the present Kingsville family types will fit into them. If local industries are started or if the people are moved to other industries, life will go on primarily as it did before the depression with but few adaptations. Other depressions or declines in particular industries or communities will find the same situation repeated again as at Kingsville.

The questions arise as to what industries to start and where to move the people. Concerning these we have no answer. A local industry might transfer the situation of joblessness to other branches of that same industry or to other families. It all depends upon the amount of revival from the depression.

In the same way moving the people away will drive others out of jobs unless there are increased industrial opportunities for labor. We must not forget that from fifteen to twenty million other families in the United States are either unemployed or are doing "made" work for the various governmental units.

A part of the remaining solution is commercial agriculture. The objections are that there seems to be a surplus of farm production and that the family type is not adapted to agriculture. These are not farm families nor do they generally desire to become such.

Thus, there seems no private solution at present for the stranded mill population at Kingsville unless they turn primarily to production for home consumption until other alternatives appear. The chief hope for the individual is the raising of most of his own food by a subsistence type of farming, enabling him to make at least part of his living until he gets another job. He can continue to live in his same house and do much of this. If he is not farming on a large scale, it will not prevent him from going back to work if the present mill or another reopens. He can abandon the farm or garden unit for a job at another place if such is offered to a member of the family.

Other than that there is relief with its inevitable demoralization and pauperization. Over a period the psychological influences of relief cannot help demoralizing most of the people in so far as work and individual economic activities are a part of character building. As Alfred Marshall observed earlier economic life is also a social discipline. Note that our Kingsville young high school graduates have in many cases done nothing but pitch horseshoes for two years.

In other words, the situation boils down to a specialized family type which does not seem to have the capacity for survival in a fluctuating economic system. We must face frankly the fact that if the individual takes up subsistence, whole or part-time, until he finds a job, the family is going to have to be changed from an institution adapted entirely to commerce and industry to a more generalized type which is willing to take its roots in the soil. In other words, it is going to have to become a part-time agricultural family in organization, in psychology, and in outlook on life.

The present family has the characteristics of the industrial laborer type, but is located in a provincial rural environment. If possible, several members of each family work in the mill. In times of depression the members help each other. The families studied expanded to take in relatives during the depression. The workers generally live in tenements where the homes have little or no garden space. Little or no interest is manifested in agriculture, and what they do undertake is largely forced during the depression.

and is not a part of the genuine culture of the people. The families are provincial, but not agricultural. The young who have married during the depression (marriages have increased) did so without much thought for the economic basis of marriage and family life. Thus, they violate one of the typical rules of the strong family in that marriage arises with little economic forethought. Neither the young couples nor their families insisted on suitable dowries or proper economic preparation for marriage. The families have no system whereby the women, children, and unemployed members raise food, carry on cultivation and household industries, or assist the workers in carrying on these activities during leisure time. The family type has no great development of economic time-preference. The thoughts are directed at today and not tomorrow. The families are divorced from long-time reality. It is a weak family type.

The strong family type is one in which the members, through the family tradition, are always thinking of the future. Marriage is given careful consideration, and each act of today is always considered partly as a preparation for the morrow. The true rural family type often requires its members to humble themselves exceedingly, almost to starvation, before they turn to other members of the community for support. This Kingsville family type is so constituted that the people are unwilling even to grow food on available land or to work at low wages in agriculture during a depression. The women do not care to carry on agricultural activities or to care for domestic animals (poultry and dairy cows). Rather they prefer to attend club meetings, to live in homes with little or no garden space, to have their children engage in types of work in which, during leisure time, they belong to the urbane and anonymous industrial public. The men loaf when land is at hand. The high school graduates pitch horseshoes while the family is on public relief. The Kingsville family is but a part of a larger social organization and is not an economic and social unit in itself. The "strong family type," which takes care of itself, is largely unknown in Kingsville. The sense of responsibility is distributed among members of *a vague public* under a condition of *anomie*.

Each Kingsvillian feels that some vague collective public should take care of him. There is a lack of social discipline between the family and the individual. The family heads are no more capable than single persons about finding jobs. Family *esprit de corps* in an economic sense is negligible.

Thus, this is a family type which can be described much more easily than characterized by a single term. It approaches a weak type from the standpoint of family discipline. It shows clearly that the change it has undergone is not toward a "new type of family," but rather toward a disruption of a family organization and the partial absorption of its members into the larger public. The family, if it may be called such, now exists only as a convenient unit for housing and feeding people in the same establishment. The continuance of this weakened family type will depend entirely upon the ability of the larger social organization (public) to take care of the problems of the individual. If this becomes increasingly difficult for the larger social organization, a strong family type will be required, one in which the family thinks more about the individual and the individual thinks more about the family. A stronger family institution will be necessary to lessen the total load of responsibilities now left to the public. This is the problem of reconstruction.

PART IV



European Studies



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This is an abridged adaptation of the important contents of Volume I of LES OUVRIERS EUROPEENS by Frédéric Le Play, Paris, 1879. The only section omitted is that which defines three hundred words necessary to the understanding of his later volumes. Where these words are used in the text, they are put in our terminology.

By careful condensation this volume, in which Le Play "gives his whole doctrine," is reduced from a large volume without destroying a single idea. Italics have been supplied in a few places for emphasis. Some of the chapters have been consolidated. The constant repetition, most of which has been eliminated from this version, was due to the fact that Le Play prepared this after he was 70 years of age. Most of the statements irrelevant to the present time and to the general theme have been omitted from the text in reducing the 645 printed pages in the original to the 235 here.

Professor Samuel Dupertuis

of

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

made the original translation
from the French

CHAPTER XIX

Introduction to the Method of Observation

The method of observation applied to the quest for happiness is as old as the first society of men. It has taken innumerable forms at different places and times. A uniform and simple method is used in happy societies but a more complicated one is needed for suffering societies. Thus, the quest for happiness can be shown to have developed very different characteristics in complicated societies.

In 1829 I outlined the special form used in this work and I have not ceased improving the details since. However, I do not claim all the credit for the results derived from this method. My efforts have added no truths to the fundamental principles of social science. My work in refuting a few contemporary errors of social science has been based upon an analysis of the catastrophes which have shaken France and the rest of Europe. However, there are still many who will not listen to the truth about human society.

History is partly a picture of the contradiction which exists between the permanent aspirations of men and their achievements. Societies are unceasingly seeking happiness. Although they are able to enjoy it only in a state of peace, they continually resort to war which is one of the greatest sources of suffering. In our time this contradiction arises from the false notions about society developed by eighteenth century Europeans. One of these errors is the exaggerated value set on novelty as against the spirit of tradition. Without doubt, contemporary innovations have often improved material life; but modern peoples suffer no less than the ancient, among whom the spirit of tradition was dominant.

One error, related to the preceding, consists in believing that "the development of the human spirit" brings about a gradual diminution of the amount and intensity of suffering. The con-

temporary struggles and catastrophes do not reassure me as to the validity of this idea for Europe and especially for France. I even suspect that the wars undertaken during the last four centuries under the pretext of protecting religion and other great social interests have done no less harm than the historic barbarian invasions for pillage. I also see some general and permanent causes of discord which had only a local and temporary existence in the past.

The social antagonisms which are shaking contemporary European societies to their very foundations are some of the eternal perils of humanity. In origin, as well as in extensiveness, the present discord differs from most that have been known in the past. Historians will call it the "scourge of the nineteenth century." Formerly, the sharp crises, those which bring about the shedding of human blood, were separated by periods of real peace. The elements of social peace were strongly established in private life. Personal interest, harnessed by a sense of duty, led each to respect a master: in the home, the children were submissive to the father; in the shop, the workmen obeyed the employer; in the community, the fathers and the employers grouped themselves deferentially around the social authorities.¹ Often, as in the "good" periods of the Middle Ages, harmony extended over an entire province through the co-operation of a great hierarchy of families and localities. When war occurred in such countries, the survivors found a restful retreat in their native places. Even when the social peace did not extend beyond the limits of the community, the remaining persons enjoyed rest at least in the home and in the workshop. Today this primary condition of happiness is disappearing little by little in Europe.

This state of suffering has already existed in Europe for a half century. It is unusually great in the manufacturing regions. There domestic disorders have become the characteristic trait of

¹ Le Play followed Plato (*Laws*, Book 12) in using this word with the following meaning: Individuals who are models in private life of conformity to the mores; by leading an exemplary life in the home and the shop, they present what may be called almost a typological picture of the *extra-individual* thing called Society. (Editors.)

private life. The societies which exhibit this malady in Europe are rapidly marching toward degeneration. Fortunately, they have before them a few remaining years of respite. They are trying to ward off the catastrophe by extending the repressive action of public power even to the smallest localities. But tribunals, police, and armed force cannot cure social antagonism. Their presence only reveals the danger of the situation. Their rôle, in the last analysis, is reduced to holding the evil in check. But under these appearances of peace a real social struggle is hiding. In the home and the shop discord is revealed by the secret understandings between the servants and enemies or competitors, by habits of unfaithfulness which degrade character, and especially by the instability of reciprocal engagements upon which rests the régime of work and of domestic life. At first sight these little frictions which accompany the small calamities seem less grave than the violent shocks of civil dissensions, but on account of their continuity in daily life they disturb more profoundly the happiness of families. These intimate sufferings become the constant preoccupation of those concerned. They paralyze particularly the forces which in prosperous races are applied to the private interests of the community and to the general interests of the nation. When we study these sufferings in detail, according to the method set forth in this work, we see at once their pernicious characteristics. We are astonished to find that a special language has arisen to designate these conflicts in the usual life of the home and the shop. We do not find the traces of this special language in periods of social peace. The events of 1803, 1848, and 1871 have shown that each of the societies of this region already bears with difficulty the repercussion of those disturbances which come from without. Everything indicates that these difficulties will increase if the task of restoration is not soon undertaken.

I am not ignorant of the fact that in the Occident and especially in France men who are active in political struggles generally attribute the persistence of evil to the corruption or perfidy of their rivals. However, by keeping myself more than ever aloof from these struggles, and by daily opening my house to men of

all parties, I assure myself that these reciprocal accusations have no real foundation. I see more and more that the principal obstacles to a cure are the false ideas which the two large categories of well-meaning people, the men of tradition and the men of novelty, have conceived concerning the nature of the remedy.

The men of tradition are often rigid in their opinions and injudicious in their conduct. Unconsciously perturbed by the instability of the régimes which have succeeded each other since 1789, they at times fall into error. They no longer know the former customs which assured social peace in periods of prosperity. If they show themselves attached to the past, it is more by habit than by understanding. They do not apply themselves to the study of those prosperous periods. Finally, they do not devote themselves to the observation of the great empires which, by preserving the traditional institutions of Europe, have acquired the preponderance formerly possessed by Spain and France. They do not even try to inform us how the prosperous peoples of today maintain their former well-being and succeed in adding the useful new things of the century. In short, the men of tradition, confident in the excellence of their principles, limit themselves to sterile affirmations, in the midst of the daily debates of politics.

The men of new ideas often assume the task of directing suffering societies. When they are not completely in error, they are farther removed from the truth than the man of tradition. However, they bring to their propaganda more ability and ardor. They falsify ideas, customs, and institutions by exalting the precepts of the *Social Contract* (Rousseauism) and three of the dogmas of the revolution (liberty, equality, and the right of revolt). When the foundations of private life are shaken, and the old customs are lost in the home, the shop, or the community, the innovators find little resistance and become more aggressive. Impressed by the useful changes which take place daily in the material order, owing to rapid succession of ingenious inventions, they reason to false conclusions. They persuade themselves that corresponding transformations must be produced in the social and moral order, in certain immutable elements of human nature.

In this movement, which is called "progress," and which emanates in part from the fatal dominance of style,² the French outrun the other Europeans, and at the same time corrupt the other nations by teaching the errors which are the prelude to the ruin of nations.³

According to the daily teaching of the innovators, the genius of man will not limit itself to advancing the physical sciences, which so easily have increased tenfold the means of subsistence and have massed families together in a given place. Man will show himself more fruitful still with regard to the other elements of happiness. Each believes he is duty bound to contribute to the furtherance of the "social science," which will procure "happiness" for men. When they have definitely entered upon this path, their minds are freed from restraint; they become inclined to dare everything. It would be useless to attempt to stop them by appealing to the writings of the wise, to contemporary facts, or to universal experience; they are unwilling to read, to see, or to listen. In rejecting those witnesses they are moved especially by their preconceived ideas. All are moved, moreover, by scorn, hatred and distrust, because they attribute to the men of tradition a spirit of routine, perfidy and stupidity. Those who pass from invention to action are not easily discouraged by the persistent failure of their efforts. On the contrary, each new defeat irritates them still more against tradition. It is thus that the indolence of the traditionalists and the zeal of modernists extend more and more the reign of suffering among the societies of the Occident.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA

In 1827, when I was leaving the *École Polytechnique*, I first

² "Plato, in his *Laws*, thinks no evil in the world more damaging to his city than to give youth the liberty to change their clothing, their dances, their exercises and songs, from one form to another." (Montaigne: *Essais*, Book I, Ch. xliii.) (Le Play's note.)

³ It is much to be doubted whether we can find so evident a benefit in changing a law, once it has been received, as there is of evil in removing it; forasmuch as a system of laws is like a building with several parts so joined together that it is impossible to loosen one without the whole body feeling it." (Montaigne: *Essais*, Book I, Ch. xxii.) (Le Play's note.)

thought of seeking a remedy for the social suffering which I observed in Europe. My eminent colleagues, discouraged by diverse influences, have since abandoned the project which we outlined in common. I alone have persevered. After half a century of diligent labor, I am now outlining my conclusions. My friends were persuaded that suffering could be healed only by the intervention of a new social system. Seeing that their favorite plan rested upon a preconceived idea, I remained undecided. I agreed that a social science was necessary for the cure of the ill, but I concluded that that science should be founded not upon an *a priori* conception but upon systematically observed facts and upon an inductive method. I arrived naturally after long study of facts at an invaluable discovery that; in order to heal social suffering, there is nothing to invent. As soon as I perceived it, I was greatly surprised to discover that I could have found it demonstrated in every page of history.

In every period, in fact, in the midst of the inherent tendencies which maintain the eternal struggle between good and evil, men have always desired to achieve happiness and flee from suffering. Under the inspiration of this common will, happy peoples were established in different places and under different régimes. Happiness existed among the nomad shepherds of the Asiatic steppes as well as among the farmers of Canaan or the city people of Egypt. Under those régimes the permanent bases of happiness, peace and stability, were pointed out by the wise who governed the families, the workshops, the communities, the cities, or the nations. Social science has been simple or complicated according as families were scattered over a wide territory or agglomerated in the cities. To know it in its diverse states and to profit therefrom, we have only to go back to the practice and the precepts of those who were the real masters of their societies.

Moreover, social science cannot be built upon a more solid base than history. All the ages of the social world live again in the present time and for the diverse states of simplicity or complication, the fundamental conditions of happiness show no more changes than does the nature of man. Peace and stability

may be observed in our time among the shepherds of the Asiatic steppes and the coast fishermen of Scandinavia. The state of social happiness has also continued from a remote period among the farmers of the Saxony plain, of the small Swiss cantons of the Oberland, and of the Basque country. To become masters of social science we are not limited to deciphering manuscripts or resorting to history. We can collect the scattered materials of the science in our journeys of today.

The knowledge of happy peoples is only half the science. The reign of suffering began as early as that of happiness. The question of reform, which so justly preoccupies our contemporaries, has presented itself in every period, and we may find the solution of it in the facts of our time as well as in those of the past.

As to the mysterious problem raised by the eternal fluctuation of prosperity and suffering in societies, the method of observation solves it as clearly as do the facts of history. At first it seems inexplicable that all the famous races have passed so rapidly from one of these states to the other. In the midst of the transformations of the modern world due to the new means of communication, the fluctuations of prosperity and suffering are more rapid than ever, and the explanation of the problem has become an urgent need. A scientific explanation of the facts is necessary in order to cure many erroneous beliefs in the inevitable progress or in the inevitable decadence of humanity. This is the principal basis for confidence in the works on the science of society.

After all, the word "social science" is a novelty. Perhaps we ought to regret that it has been introduced into our language, for it may have stimulated the spirit of invention unwisely. But if the word is new the thing is old, and in reality it constitutes the oldest of all knowledge. A valid social science has been harmed rather than helped by the rapid transformations of today. Well-informed persons whom I have met in the steppes of Asia, where patriarchal traditions still exist, have appeared to me more learned in social science than our *literati*. Other students have received the same impression.

I still ask why several of my former co-workers, endowed with

superior faculties, did not achieve a true science of society before me. To the indications already given upon this subject I add that those of my friends who have acquired reputations by their talents have been brought up in urban agglomerations and in French boarding schools where all forms of error accumulate. They have imbibed erroneous ideas. They are always criticising the actions of authority and are unable to resist the opportunity to abuse power. My character was less deformed by that kind of constraint. An education in rural isolation, in a non-boarding school, and under the instruction of several well-informed persons, enabled me to approach the study of society with a freer mind. I offer to the reader a guarantee of impartiality. I hope that my report will call the attention of the public to the reforms which will save the youth of France from uniformity and from the oppression of the teachings of the schools.⁴

The first five years of my life (1806-1811) were spent upon the banks of the lower Seine at the small port of Honfleur, near the village of LaRivière, where I was born. Early memories recall the distress of the coast fishermen whose industry was destroyed by the English fleet which blockaded all that region. I recall the indescribable pleasure with which I participated in the spring of 1810, in a marvelous fishing exploit in which clubs were used upon a school of shad stranded in a pool of water at low tide. During the following severe winter, the gathering of fuel became a useful resource for the home as well as for my physical development. I thus acquired an early knowledge of the importance of the spontaneous products, i.e. [free goods]

⁴ A note subjoined by Locke to his *Treatise upon the Education of Children* refers to the good custom of education by the family; it testifies to the importance which this education had in the eyes of the author. Here is what he says about it: "In Suetonius (*Life of Augustus*, Ch. LXIV) and in the *Life of Cato the Censor*, composed by Plutarch, you may see how among the Romans, the parents thought themselves obliged to see themselves to the education of their children." And, Suetonius reports that "usually, Augustus himself taught writing to his grandsons." According to Plutarch, Cato the Censor, "that illustrious Roman, having had a son . . . , taught him his letters himself, although he had a slave who was an honorable man and a good grammarian . . . ; he composed some stories and wrote them with his own hand in large characters. . . . Finally, he was as careful not to speak improper words in the presence of his son as he would have been in the company of the vestal virgins." (Le Play's note.)

which poor families gather. When in 1829 I sketched my first family budget (*The Miner of Hartz, Germany*, III, 21), I put incomes of that kind into the outline under the title of "subsidies."

After the loss of my father in June, 1811, one of his sisters who had married into wealth brought me to Paris. My stay in Paris produced upon me an unfortunate impression, which I have since always felt at the sight of cities. The school where they sent me for four winters was a torment to me. It consisted of a second-story room where four children were confined for seven hours in vitiated air. My stay there has left no memory of friendship or learning.

The literary part of my education was given me in the drawing-room of my foster parents. Every evening my uncle, who was about fifty years of age, gathered former associates who, born in ease but less fortunate than he, found themselves deprived of family and fortune after the disasters of the Revolution. Such surroundings were a useful stimulant to my mind. After the second winter, when I was seven years old, the passion for reading, judiciously directed and limited by my guardians, made me forget the physical annoyances of urban life. During the last two years of my stay in Paris, our visitors felt the need of escaping from the painful impressions of that terrible period, and they took pleasure in instructing me, either by directing my reading or by answering the inexhaustible questions which were suggested to me by the reading and the conversations of the preceding evening. That teaching was given me nearly every day by two habitual guests and my uncle. These three men, who had left school about the time of the American Revolution, deposited in my mind a mass of opinions touching the ancient literature and the modern history of France. In 1848 when I was induced by men of very diverse opinions to publish my first sociological work, I often recalled the lessons of my three teachers of 1813, and I realized that I was more indebted to them than I had thought. My uncle willingly subordinated political to economic questions. He related the prudent conduct which had preserved his fortune for him in

the midst of the revolutionary crisis. He criticised with equal firmness the disorders of the court nobility, the frauds of the army purveyors, and the shamelessness of the acquirers of confiscated goods. He severely blamed the defects of the former régime, and he esteemed Napoleon I more for the wisdom of his administration than for his military talents. He praised the habits of sobriety which I had formed during my early childhood. The second teacher, a former magistrate who was enthusiastic in the cultivation of literature, guided me with a rare patience in my own reading. He inclined toward J. J. Rousseau, the Encyclopedists, and the Girondins. The third held the opposite point of view and took pleasure in demonstrating the sovereign influence exercised by religion upon individual happiness and public prosperity. He saw in the corruption of the ruling classes of the former régime the principal cause of the Revolution. He had witnessed the deplorable spectacle of impiety and corruption which the emigrés had revealed in Coblenz, in Cologne, and elsewhere. He declared that these disorders had become little by little, in the eyes of the Germans, the apology or at least the excuse for the Revolution. Those teachings concerning the incidents of the day conveyed with gaiety and wit left in my mind the first notions of moral and literary knowledge, a thing which the school did not give.

Each spring and summer we moved to the charming country of Bray, where two members of my paternal family lived. There, free from the servitude of school, I resumed the habits of my early childhood. I became the favorite helper of rural laborers, woodsmen, hunters, and fishermen. I found myself thus introduced to a set of ideas which enabled me later to understand more fully the characteristics of rural and manufacturing hierarchies.

Returning to Honfleur in 1815, I noticed at once the exactness of the teaching which the wisest of my Parisian teachers had brought back from the emigration. I saw that the principal factors of happiness were religion, peace, and national custom. Since the state of war had ceased, my old friends, the old coast fishermen, had returned to the city. They found again in worship

the moral diversions and the practical consolations necessary to their hard and perilous trade. I still remember, not without emotion, the solemnity and the joy with which they observed the days of first communion and Corpus Christi. For seven years (1815-1822) I saw work which had been paralyzed for twenty years by the blockade revived upon both banks of the lower Seine. In Auge I saw well-being grow rapidly in the domestic shops of spinners, weavers, and lace makers. I saw riches increase in large factories which centralized the commerce of their products. In the Caux country the sight was still more instructive; the return of peace and the preserving of the traditions of Normandy also contributed to the return of prosperity. Factories with machines arose on every side. The families of farmers, country folk, and large owners had not yet been disorganized by the laws of the Terror; together with their old customs they kept in their "huts" the habits of hierarchy and union which have persisted to the present on the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic.

In this period I was further initiated into the past by quite a number of men who had begun the practice of their profession before the Revolution. It was from them that I often heard confirmed what I had been taught in Paris concerning the spirit of irreligion which existed among the ruling classes during the years that preceded the Revolution. I also found many confirmations of the idea from relations which I had with the old and the young clergy during the five years (1818-1822) when I took courses in the humanities in the *Collège de Havre*.

While at Havre I gave part of my time to the reading of Cicero. I was also interested in the opinions of Tacitus concerning the Germanic tribes as contrasted with the Romans. The principal of the college, in relating to me the chief incidents of his career, confirmed the notions which I had previously acquired touching the failure of the ecclesiastical dignitaries, the painful condition of the lower clergy under the former régime and the tendencies toward novelty manifested by a part of the clergy at the Estates-General of 1789.

The year 1823, during which I had to choose a profession, was a decisive point of my life. I did not know whether to take a position as a surveyor or to go to the *École des Mines* in Paris. To remove my doubts, I consulted a chief engineer of the department of roads and bridges, a former friend of my family, who was willing to pass judgment upon what I could do best if I would work with him for a while. He kept me with him the remainder of the year, treating me as a son. Thanks to that community of existence, the practices of work which I had formed up till then were definitely fixed. His reading was directed to the purpose of remedying the lacunæ which the decadence of the former régime and the violences of the Revolution had introduced in the knowledge of the comfortable classes. He arranged our daily life in such a way that after I had assisted him I was able to give five hours to the liberal arts and the sciences having for their object the study of society. Montaigne and Cicero were the habitual rallying place in our reading. Those two writers who lived in the midst of great periods of corruption were, in the opinion of the master, eminently capable of casting light upon contemporary corruption. Montaigne, in particular, who had remained pure in mind and conduct in spite of the social corruption of the last of the Valois, made me understand the cause of and the remedy for the disorganization which derives today from the errors emanating from the last Bourbons, the *Social Contract*, and the Terror.

I have sought in vain, among the men of action of our time, for the wisdom of Montaigne. Rarely have I seen him esteemed at his true worth. Often even the men among whom I had hoped to find new teachers have completely ignored his contributions, accusing him of skepticism. Montaigne, on the contrary, was imbued with the convictions indispensable to those who propagate truth by example or by precept. For ideas of religion and of sovereignty he drew inspiration from the national tradition. In a time when, as in the present era, the nation was shaken by the corruption of the ruling classes, the errors of the educated and the dangerous undertakings of the innovators, he remained always

faithful to the customs of his ancestors. He often was skeptical, but never concerning essential social principles. His doubts concerned those who were failing in their duty to save the Fatherland. Those doubts were legitimate, for the great thinker died six years before the decisive act of 1598 by which Henry IV opened the new era of peace. The more I study my contemporaries, the more I am assured that Montaigne was the interpreter of wisdom in the sad period of the last Valois. In my time, no less unhappy, I find in myself similar doubts. Like Montaigne, I have in view the "principles" of those who in practice are recreant to their duty.

I arrived in Paris during the first days of 1824 to be admitted for the six following years successively to the *Collège de Saint Louis*, the *École Polytechnique*, and the *École des Mines*. The lessons of the preceding years gave me an initial advantage. I remained indifferent to the political passions which animated my most clever fellow students. I understood the necessity of giving myself exclusively to the studies of those three schools. From taste and from duty I avoided the company of students who were animated with the aspirations out of which soon came the Revolution of 1830. Submissive to the hierachial ideas, I contented myself with moaning silently while hearing a professor of history glorify the sad words of Louis XIV: "I am the State." I did not even allow myself to become dazzled by the lectures in the *Collège de France*, where eloquent professors discredited the national customs and spoke of "the development of the human mind" as the supreme goal of "civilization."

ITS FRUITION BETWEEN 1830 AND 1880

The period in the *École des Mines* in Paris, beginning at the end of the year 1827, was one of happiness for me. I was escaping from the servitude of the barracks and of the study halls which had been paralyzing my faculties for two years. Free again, my work resumed its fecundity. My recreation, subordinated to attractive duties, acquired an extraordinary charm in the habitual company of my friend, Jean Reynaud. We first met at the *École*

Polytechnique in 1826. We had a common love for rural life and certain similar views on public questions. Through these bonds our relationship had become transformed into a solid friendship. At that time Reynaud was beginning to become an enthusiast for Saint Simon. He was led into that path by his frequent conversations with Pierre Leroux and by the patriotic aspirations common to us. With a winning eloquence, he declared that the greatness of the Fatherland was to come, not from a new explosion of violence, but from a pacific transformation of social relations. He saw the motive force of that transformation, in part without realizing it, in the false dogmas of 1789, which had been inculcated in him from his childhood. I first opposed to his preconceived idea the opinions which I had gathered during my early education. Our continual discussions did not diminish the difference of opinion which existed between us, but they increased our affection by giving us an incentive to the joint discovery of the truth. In this matter, without giving himself as much as I to the method of observation, Reynaud did not reject the idea of taking as the criteria of our judgment the social facts observed in a journey made together. As to the choice of places to visit, I had not forgotten the lessons of my early realistic teacher (at my uncle's house in Paris in 1814) that Northern Germany was an example of contemporary social wisdom. I made my friend agree to travel on a 200-day trip during 1829 through the mines, the factories, and the forests of the regions about the Moselle, the Meuse, the Rhine, the North Sea, the Baltic, the mountains of Erzgebirge and of Thuringia, and neighboring territory.

The instruction of the *École des Mines* required that each pupil make two successive explorations. The plan which we submitted for the approval of our masters made my first field trip coincide with the second trip of Reynaud. As our undertaking was to incur an expense greater than the allowance granted each pupil, we took care to secure beforehand, by means of a few literary and scientific efforts, the extra funds which we would need.

This journey was accomplished under the most favorable

conditions during the seven months from May to November. It was one of the most precious bits of my education. I feel more and more that the international strength of a nation depends to a considerable extent upon the knowledge acquired in methodical journeys by the youth of the ruling classes.

We had three principal goals in each country: to visit the model mining establishments and remain long enough to observe and record the essential facts, to enter into close relations with the populations in order to establish a clear distinction between facts essentially local and those of a general character, and to seek earnestly the local social authorities in order to observe their practices and listen to the judgments they gave upon men and things. In order to do this, we traveled always on foot, using a map and a compass. We thus crossed by direct lines the distances which were mostly impassable for saddle animals or carriages. We walked 6,800 kilometers in 200 days.

The special objects of our observations were the miners, founders, woodsmen, charcoal burners, and teamsters of the Hartz mountains. We compared their condition with that of the rural populations of the Saxony plain, which extends from the foot of these mountains. We also visited the homes of families connected with mineral and forest exploitation in the south of the plain between the Elbe and the Rhine. Finally our researches extended also to the coast fishermen of Hanover, Oldenburg, and the Netherlands, as well as to the manufacturing populations of Westphalia, Belgium, and the Rhine basin.

We agreed upon certain economic questions. For example, we recognized the excellence of the great corporations established in the German states for the exploitation of metal mines. We did not succeed, however, in agreeing upon the "social question" which had been the point of departure of our undertaking; we only understood that it was much more complicated than we had at first thought. I was strengthened in the idea that the solution would be found in the customs of the past. My friend, on the contrary, retained his convictions upon the doctrine of "continuous progress," and in general upon the help which the spirit of novelty

and invention could give in this matter as in every other. In a word, we returned more divided in our opinions and better friends than ever.

The journey of 1829 bound me to my profession by assuring me that in it I could be of service to my country. With growing ardor I pursued my work as an engineer, but from that moment I never lost sight of the social studies which became one of my favorite pastimes. During the winter of 1829-1830 I employed my leisure time in visiting many Parisian shops, and I noticed with satisfaction that they still preserved the best elements of peace and stability. With the coming of spring I was preparing for the second field trip which was to take place in Spain, when an explosion in the laboratory of the *École des Mines* endangered my life for eighteen months. The Revolution of 1830 came at the time when my sickness was most acute. Deprived of the use of my hands, and reduced to complete helplessness, I had as diversion from my ills only the society of companions and sympathizing persons who hovered around my bed. During the day I hear the recitals of calamities caused by bloodshed and violence, and of the hatred of which they are the result. During my long nights of suffering and insomnia I had only one means of resting my mind; it was to transport myself in thought to the scenes of happiness which I had observed day by day the preceding year in Germany, in France, and in the very city which was torn by discord. This hard apprenticeship of pain, complimented by a forced meditation, comes to me today as one of the decisive events of my career; it was then in fact that I formed the resolution to remedy as much as possible the curses loosed in my country. I vowed to devote six months of each year to traveling not only to study metallurgy but to investigate families and societies.

By reciting the story of my youth, I wish to prove that the method, the principal object of this volume, does not derive from a preconceived idea of my own. The fundamental impulse was of course an interest in understanding the disasters which seemed widespread in my own country.

The Revolution of 1848 brought further developments to the

method of observation. It revealed to me the compensations inherent in national catastrophes. This event demonstrated the results of social errors which I had seen beginning with 1830 and which I had studied during eighteen years of observation. The friends who until then had supported my scientific work thought that the time for application had come. They pointed out our work to the rulers of the day as a means of salvation. On that occasion my former traveling companion, Jean Reynaud, distinguished himself by his zeal. He had long abandoned Saint-Simonism, had made a reputation in philosophy, and was then associated as under-secretary of state with one of the departments of the provisional government. One of the principal chiefs of that government, M. François Arago, showed himself grateful for the help which our monographs had rendered him in the formidable debates which then stirred the Luxembourg Palace. He was able in fact to make himself be listened to by the laborers famished by the Revolution. He was able to demonstrate to them that the solution of the social problem would be found neither in a communism organized by the State, nor in the *laissez faire* preached by the economists. M. Arago urged me to prepare my works for publication. He interested his colleagues of the *Academie des Sciences* of Paris in my work. I again, for seven years, traveled in Europe to revise all the facts which I had observed before in order to gather together the materials which were published in 1855 in the first edition of *Les ouvriers européens*. By 1855, M. Arago was dead and new rulers had undertaken the direction of affairs. The patronage of the *Academie des Sciences* remained assured to me, however, and owing to the intervention of my illustrious master, J. Dumas, I was able to obtain the assistance of the imperial printing press.

Since 1856, the study of families and societies has become collective. The chances of error arising from preconceived ideas are removed more than ever by the intervention and control of numerous co-laborers. That very year the *Academie des Sciences* awarded to *Les ouvriers européens* the prize for statistics. The *Society of Social Economy* was founded in conformity with the

wishes of the *Academie des Sciences*. After thirteen years of success it was recognized as an establishment of public utility, and after twenty-two years it has produced ten volumes of memoirs and bulletins.

In 1858 Napolean III, supported by the Duc de Morny, made an important declaration to the Privy Council. Emphasizing the facts given in *Les ouvriers européens*, he expressed the conviction that the time had come to reform the institutions which were sapping the paternal authority in France at its very foundation. The majority of the Council, subscribing to the dominant errors of the country, did not adopt that opinion. The Emperor then was unable to begin, according to the plan he had conceived, the moral reforms promised in the second part of the program which he had outlined in 1852 in Bordeaux. Thus hindered in the execution of the plan that was most likely to give luster to his reign, he was thrown back upon the political undertaking which was developed by 1859. However, he did not lose the hope of bringing misled public opinion back to the truth. He asked me to demonstrate the necessity for reform in a book more adapted to public understanding than *Les ouvriers européens*, and for five years the Emperor and the Empress demanded of me without respite the performance of this task.

The expected work *La réforme sociale*, was finally published in 1864. It answered the desires of the Emperor and of M. de Morny, and under their influence several persons belonging to the rural land-owning class, to the manufacturing industry, and to commerce devoted themselves to the cause of reform. From the beginning of the session of 1865, a proposition to increase the authority of fathers of families was presented to the legislative body by M. le baron de Veauce, supported by fifty-one of his colleagues. Their efforts failed before the coalition of radical politicians, interpreters of a public opinion led astray by the false dogmas of 1789. Forty-two persons, whose names I have given in the new editions of *La réforme sociale*, alone voted for the proposition which contained the germs of moral improvement, and which could effect the salvation of France.

The Emperor discouraged, again threw himself into the political plans which resulted in the events of 1866. Seeing the horizon darken, he sought again to heal by social reform the ills engendered by politics. At my suggestion, which received moral support from only one of his ministers, he decided that a system of prizes should be instituted at the World Exposition of 1867 for the establishments and the localities which, in the entire world, gave the best examples of social peace. In November 1869, seeing that the ills engendered by social antagonism were becoming more acute, the Emperor deigned to invite me to Saint-Cloud to a family dinner. In the long conversation which occupied the whole evening, I had nothing to add to the plan of reform which I had presented in 1858 and again in 1864. I declared, however, that the true notions of reform were beginning to spread in the Council of State, the Legislative Body, and the Senate, and, hence, if the Emperor were willing personally to aid the movement, he would gather together in time the elements of a government of reform. Restrained by his extreme kindness and even by a sort of benevolent timidity, the Emperor was unable to decide personally to exercise any constraint upon his assistants. He asked me to compress *La réforme sociale* into a small book, which I presented him two months later, with the title *L'Organisation du travail*. In January, having approved the résumé which I had submitted to him, His Majesty invited me to present it as the expression of his own opinion to two members of his government. Finally, having learned that I had found in them the indifference and the prejudice which had paralyzed the efforts of 1858 and 1865, the Emperor definitely lost hope of accomplishing reform during his life, and he threw himself for the third time into the undertaking which soon brought about the final catastrophe of the empire.

Since February 1871, all hope of reform has been removed by the inexperience of our nation and especially by the hatreds which divide it into political parties. Its weakness in this regard is not due, however, as many good men believe, to the suppression of the monarchical form, for the last two monarchies left a free course to the corruption unleashed by the vices of the former régime and

by the violences of the Revolution. It is truthful to say that the obstacles to reform have become less absolute under the republics improvised by force in 1848 and 1871. Under those two régimes, in fact, there developed the only institutions which, since 1789, have really begun the work of moral reform: the associations of public good which give themselves to the discovery of social truths, while removing national, political, and religious debates; and the partial tempering of the rigid regulations which prevent the fathers of families from choosing freely the teachers of their children.

In indicating this fact, I must keep in mind the stumbling block that I dread in writing this work. I must not, for lack of a corrective, offend convictions founded upon national traditions. I am far from thinking that the restoration of an hereditary monarchy is useless to the salvation of a race of men who possess riches and who excite ardent covetousness. The history of Poland demonstrates the danger to which France exposes itself in permitting political parties to intervene in the choice of the chief of the State outside of the absolute principle of heredity regulated by custom.

I have had to speak of myself from the beginning of this work more than I wished to, for I was obliged, above all, to enable the reader to judge the guarantees of exactness offered by the method which I have followed. I have shown that I have not discovered but found again the eternal truths which new observations daily confirm. However, those who have not yet been able to see these truths for themselves may find in them a cause for astonishment. They wonder why a teaching so evident, so necessary, remains unknown to the nation which can find its means of salvation only in this.

Pending the explanations which will often be given on this subject in the course of this work, I maintain that the obstacle comes from the inveterate errors of the nation. To this day the fundamental error of J. J. Rousseau, the blind propaganda of the drawing-rooms of the former régime, and the tyrannical pressure of the revolutionary codes have won out over the salu-

tary teachings of the catastrophes. The principal obstacle to reform in France lies neither in the presence nor in the absence of an hereditary monarch. The cause of our powerlessness *is in ourselves*: It derives from the false dogmas of 1789, which with rare individual exceptions have penetrated from the top to the bottom into all the classes of the social hierarchy. Those false dogmas have put the French nation outside of the traditional truths which preserve peace and stability in the prosperous races of our day.

The method employed in this work has not been derived from a theory. It imposed itself gradually upon the author while he acquired, by observation itself, the knowledge of the material and moral facts which rule in the organization of societies. The reader will be able to acquire the knowledge of the method either by studying the monographs or more simply by reading the exposition made of it in this volume. I have presented in the four following chapters a résumé of the notions relative to places, to men, to livelihood, and to societies. Those great phenomena of nature and of social life, observed without preconceived notions, interpreted without prejudice, have been for me the true origins of the method.

CHAPTER XX

Geographic Analysis

Nations present in our time considerable differences in their economic and social organization. These differences are often directly related to fertility of the soil, or to climate with its extremes of warmth and cold and of drought and humidity.

The modern doctrines which relate man readily to the animal do not give to this geographical contrast the importance that it should have. They themselves explain these dissimilarities by innate differences. This hypothesis is not at all necessary; it has, besides, two disadvantages. It uselessly complicates social science. It tends to justify by the nature of things the social antagonism which was solely developed among nations or between the classes of a same race. The method of observation, moreover, refutes this idea. Observation reveals in the midst of purely physical phenomena the action of moral forces which do not exist in animals and which exercise a preponderant influence upon the life of societies. In every race these moral forces emanate from the same principle, and according to the application which is made of them they engender everywhere the same phenomena of good or of evil. The identity seen in the chief characteristics of human nature shows, then, the identity of origin of the human species. It is precisely this human identity which places in bold relief the modifications which the diversity of places affords with respect to not only the physical organization of individuals but also the constitutions of societies.

The territories in which the European races were developed and which by the nature of their products have brought a great diversity into the conditions of this development are divisible into three categories. The first two, the steppes and the maritime shores, are notable for the abundance, the uniformity, and the

permanence of their products. They have formed fruitful and stable homogeneous races, and the swarms that have come out of these races have often preserved these characteristics when they became groups in other territories. The third category presents considerable variation in the nature and permanence of the products. These regions are composed of forests with varied soils. The races which inhabit them differ ordinarily from the others, especially by their instability.

In eastern Europe the steppes occupy immense spaces. They completely resist the growth of trees. Their pastures possess all the elements necessary to the existence of large scattered families or even to the grouping of homogeneous tribes issuing from a common ancestor. The families can remain united by adopting the nomadic life. They move with their flocks to the different parts of the lands, in an order determined by the growth or the exhaustion of the grass. The married sons remain near the parents. All the homes, then, can be governed by a single chief. The groups thus formed give rise to stable families and, in banding themselves together, are examples of patriarchal constitutions.

The maritime shores of the continent of Europe stretch from the North Cape to the eastern extremity of the Sea of Azof. They have, in general, a contiguous fishing zone and materials of subsistence superior to those of an equal area of the steppes. But the family lives near the shore where lies the boat which together with the dwelling and its dependencies, constitute the patrimony of the family. It is composed of a single home comprising the parents, the unmarried of every age, and the married heir. The last receives the indivisible inheritance which is transmitted from generation to generation. The stem family of the coast fisherman is as stable as the patriarchal family of the shepherd because the aquatic domain is as inexhaustible as the steppes.

The forests and their varied soils constituted, before their occupation by man, the greater part of the territories lying between the steppes and the maritime shores of Europe. This forest area was covered principally by arborescent plants relatively similar

in a large number of territories. These comprised prairies covered with herbaceous vegetation or subligneous plants, dry or rocky soils, damp soils more or less invaded by water, and finally, areas of ponds and lakes. The trees were distributed in three ways: immense forests, where the other soils formed only small areas; groves alternating with mounds from these same soils; and, finally, scattered individual trees upon open spaces. When man came the kinds of trees varied a great deal according to the quality of the soil, its condition of drought or humidity, and its situation on the plain or on the mountain. Since then this variety has continued to increase, thanks to the intelligent work of the foresters.

The wild animals of the forests were the principal means of subsistence for the first immigrants. The earliest settlers supported themselves by hunting. They differed greatly in their customs from the shepherds and from the coast fishermen who peopled the first two kinds of territory. The families of the huntsmen were essentially unstable. In the course of time they destroyed the game. The adult children with nothing to expect from their parents left home as soon as possible. When the game was exhausted these families had to work the soil and modify their habits to create for themselves new methods of subsistence.

These different kinds of territory have left their imprint upon the history of Europe. The people are still in intimate relationship with the three regions, as is shown by the descriptions in *Les ouvriers européens*. The steppes are preponderant in eastern Europe, the maritime shores upon the boundaries of all the regions, and the forests in the north and the west. The varied soils are preponderant in the countries contiguous to the shores or situated between the North and the Mediterranean Seas at the common dividing line between eastern and western Europe.

THE STEPPES AND THE PASTURE

Of the primitive territories upon which the first permanent and prosperous societies may have settled, the steppes probably

offered the most favorable conditions. They are composed of vast plains without notable declivities, which yield grasses but are absolutely unsuited to the continuous growth of forests. This complete exclusion of trees persists even in the grassy regions, which being adjacent to groves, receive a profusion of the seeds of the forests scattered by the winds. It is often possible to trace the limits of the steppes as clearly as those of the lakes and the seas. This curious phenomenon is produced when two conditions are present. In the first place, in some latitudes meteoric action and altitude are combined in such a manner that during the cold season the soil remains covered with a thick layer of snow. In the second place, during the warm season other circumstances prevent the growth of trees.

During the day the first effect of the sun is to cause the water that has been formed on the surface to penetrate the snowy layer. The water often congeals during the following night, giving more compactness to the snow, which because of this liquefies less rapidly. Under these influences snow persists here after it has disappeared upon the sloping parts of the same region. The time finally comes when, the snow having melted, the soil, which is completely saturated with water, is suddenly exposed to the action of an already rising temperature. The grass grows with extraordinary rapidity and at times reaches a height of two meters in a few weeks. Thus are formed those admirable fields of flowers which wave like the water in the wind and which are compared to the ocean by the poets of those regions.

The seeds of the trees, scattered upon the steppes before the winter season, do not remain inert. At times they sprout even before the grass, but they rarely rise during their growth above one decimeter. Soon stifled by the grass, they smother or at least do not thrive. Those that retain a remnant of life are destroyed as soon as the burning action of the sun, having withered the grasses, makes itself felt upon the completely dried soil. These embryo forests of the steppes perish each year because they find in the steppes neither the space necessary for germination nor an adequate humidity.

Before the appearance of man upon the earth these conditions prevailed upon all the steppes. They were inhabited especially by the large species of gregarious animals, belonging, for the most part, to the mammal class, which have been preserved in some parts to this day. Upon them mammals found ample means of subsistence during the seasons of snow as well as during the season of new grass. The earliest human families which settled on the new territories found there all the necessary resources for their existence. They were able to create stable and prosperous races by perfecting, with some effort, the work of nature. They had only to take control of the flocks already grouped and organize the work of the pasture. This régime of the first ages of humanity has continued up to our time on the admirable steppes situated to the south of the wooded Alta mountains. The nomad shepherds of that region continue the wise traditions of their pastoral forefathers. They exploit in a condition of complete tranquility their numerous herds composed of horses, oxen, camels, and sheep.

When the territory had not been modified by the work of man, Europe had in its southeastern region a considerable extent of steppes. Grasses covered five contiguous regions in the valley of the Danube: between the Carpathians and the Balkans, between the north shores of the Black and the Azof Seas, on the great plateau extending between the Azof and the Caspian Seas, between the valleys of the Don and Caucasus mountains, and, finally, from the Caspian Sea, the vast pastures between the Volga and the Ural mountains which extend in increasing width to the frontiers of Asia.

The steppes situated between the mouths of the Don and the Danube have been considered by geographers and poets the home of virtue. The regions less suitable for the continuous growth of grasses were already furnishing wheat to the Greek colonies of Tauric (Chersonese) and to several commercial peoples of the Mediterranean. In 1837 when I visited the steppes of southern Russia for the first time, there were still some splendid grass areas upon the Danube and the Dnieper. Since then railroads have penetrated there and the breaking up of the soil is going on with

unheard of rapidity. The eastern European steppes, on the contrary, still remain intact in many places between the shores of the Caspian Sea and the frontier of Asia.

MARITIME SHORES AND COAST FISHING

The maritime waters in many places offer an abundant supply of food to the peoples living along the coast. Certain kinds of animals which inhabit these waters are found far out in the seas. But many are found in proximity to the shore. The fishes, the crustaceans, and the mollusks in particular like those stretches of water which, having a depth of less than a hundred meters, provide them with places of refuge and rest sheltered from the disturbances of the sea caused by the winds. The extent of these haunts varies in relation to the topography of the shore line. Upon abrupt shores, where the ground falls rapidly below water-level, the fishing zone is sometimes reduced to a width of two kilometers. Upon level shores, on the other hand, this width becomes considerable, and the coast fishermen profitably extend their habitual excursions as far as twenty kilometers. The fishing surface exploited by the daily work of the fishermen varies thus in these two extreme cases between 200 and 2,000 hectares per kilometer of shore.

Some shores permanently inhabited by certain varieties of marine animals are also periodically visited by migrating fishes, such as the herring, the numerous schools of which supply almost unlimited means of food. Other migrating fishes also furnish resources no less valuable. Salmon, for example, seek in the sea the conditions suitable to their development, but after several years of growth there they return for spawning to the waters where they were born. In immense schools they ascend the rivers and thereby constitute a kind of manna for the countries through which these streams flow.

From the earliest times these two great natural products of Europe have had different influences upon the races which draw their means of existence from them. The fishes of the sea when compared to the grass of the steppes offer both an advantage and a disadvantage. They can be used directly as food by men, but the

work of coast fishing involves some previous inventions more difficult and daily efforts more arduous than the raising and keeping of flocks. However, river fishing of migrating fishes and maritime fishing in the zones uncovered by the ebbing of the ocean provide certain localities with the double advantage of an article for immediate consumption and of an easily procured harvest.

Of the five large continents of the globe Europe is the one that, for a given area of territory, offers the greatest extent of maritime shore and the greatest fishing surface. Furthermore, a vast marine current, the Gulf Stream, exerts, upon the north and the west coasts, an influence the fecundity of which is reproduced in the same proportions in no other region of the globe. It brings waters that are relatively warm and beneficial. It keeps the sea open and fishing continuous in latitudes which elsewhere remain eternally covered with ice. Finally, it transmits by the action of the winds warmth and humidity to the maritime provinces and thus increases the richness and duration of the vegetation.

To recapitulate, the Gulf Stream combines, to the profit of the shores of the North Sea and the English Channel, the material advantages of a temperate climate with the moral advantages belonging to the polar regions. Under these influences the countries contiguous to these shores have acquired from the Middle Ages the science and the power which in ancient times secured to the great empires of southern Asia a renown which they have lost by misuse. The present powers of Europe need to beware of the same fate, but they can avoid it by meditating upon the history of the only Asiatic empire which has escaped decadence. If rural China has prospered for 42 centuries it is because it has always been rejuvenated by continuous immigration or by the periodic conquests of Mongol or Manchurian shepherds. Europeans, it is true, can no longer be recruited from these precious reserves of patriarchal families, but they at least have before their eyes examples of paternal authority presented by the original stem-families of the Saxon and the Scandinavian shores. They may thus be able both to resist the corruption which is invading them and to preserve the valuable lore of their coast fishermen.

WOODED TERRITORY NOT CONTIGUOUS TO THE SHORES

The natural products of the steppes and of the maritime shores possess a characteristic different from those of the other European territories. The races which live upon these products find in them the permanent satisfaction of their needs. Those who from the earliest ages of history have escaped the excitement of commerce and have followed freely their natural impulses are not disposed to change their condition. They are happy, and, persuaded that they possess happiness, constitute eminently stable populations.

No other region of Europe offered the same advantages to the first men who, in prehistoric ages, settled upon them. Many grassy plateaus scattered in the mountains were protected from the invasion of trees by causes which still operate in the steppes, but their extent was too limited to permit the formation of pastoral races independent of the population which occupy the valleys, the hills, and the surrounding plains. The territories where the soil was not infertile were covered with wooded vegetation. Upon the more fertile soils there existed dense forests which greatly resembled those that could still be seen in southern Africa at the beginning of this century. They were large forests often dotted with rich pastures. They were inhabited by elephants, horses, reindeer, and other large gregarious animals having sufficient strength to defend themselves against the attacks of the carnivores. Such regions were very common in prehistoric France. The inhabitants of these localities were gathered in small groups. They hunted the animals in common, with various weapons whose sharp edges were formed by chipped stones. They habitually lived in groups and pursued game. The traces of their mode of existence are, however, found here and there in caverns near steep rocks, in the piles of the lake-dwellers, or in other places of shelter and refuge. In general, the wild animals of large forests, as well as the fishes of the lakes and the rivers, have scarcely provided either in France or in the rest of Europe, continuous means of subsistence for any race of men. Those historians of Greece and

Rome, who, in a relatively recent period, have described the races established in the wooded regions of western Europe, have mentioned none whose existence depended exclusively upon the natural products. The steppes and the maritime shores are then the only territories which, without undergoing any transformation, have afforded complete satisfaction for the needs of men from the first ages of humanity. They have at least secured to these races some elements of stability. Nothing similar was to be found in the more fertile wooded regions, even in those splendid forests, where the hunting of large animals secured superabundant resources to the first immigrants. In the fertile clearings, rich in large game, the immigrants first grouped themselves around certain stations, but the hunters did not bind themselves to the wooded soil as did the shepherds and the fishermen to their steppes and their shores. They left their first dwelling places after having exhausted the resources. They migrated to places where they were able to establish new settlements upon some hunting territory still unoccupied. But when the large forest region was completely exploited, the huntsmen were able to continue only by seeking a new means of existence from pasture and from agriculture. The former hunters had to create for themselves permanent habitations, to clear the glades of the forest, and, as a result, to modify profoundly the nature of the localities.

The Gauls and the Britons were thus transformed during historic times. In becoming sedentary they retained certain unstable habits of their nomad life. One can thus explain why they were easily invaded and ruled by coast fishermen with stable families from the Saxon plain and the Scandinavian countries. It was in this process of transformation that the earliest travelers of the cultivated races first found the Germanic tribes, the Gauls and the Britons. These transformations, very slow in the periods when the wooded regions of Europe were beginning to be settled, have increased their pace little by little. They are taking place in our day in North America with a rapidity which surpasses all that has taken place until now.

THE PRESENT TRANSFORMATION OF THE GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT

From ancient times and up to the Middle Ages certain European races, satisfied with their condition, have continued to reside in their native places with their original natural social constitutions.¹ At the beginning of my travels I was able to observe the sentiment which binds men to the ancient social constitutions of their native places. These sentiments still exert a great influence among certain isolated peoples, ignorant of the ideas and habits of western Europe. In extreme regions of eastern and northern Europe, where this love of tradition continues, the practical notion of happiness is summed up among the fathers of families in a few dominant ideas. For them happiness is derived essentially from the condition of peace maintained by these traditional customs among the members of each family, between the masters and servants in the same workshop, and between families constituting each neighborhood. The customs of social peace are perpetuated by simplicity and frugality. They are changed by the complicating of customs or by the possession of the superfluous; and this change in the conditions of existence is always more or less bound up with the change of the localities.

A fierce struggle is being waged today in Europe between the spirit of tradition and the spirit of novelty. The impulse for the new originates in western Europe, whereas the spirit of resistance, which is weakening day by day, reveals itself only upon the steppes of eastern Europe and the shores of the north. In the coal regions of Scotland, England, France, Belgium, and some of the German states, the principal traditions of happiness are already almost lost.

The first time I went into eastern and northern Europe to the territories of the traditionalists I felt a profound emotion in again finding conditions similar to those in the midst of which I lived

¹ Le Play uses this phrase "social constitution" in a particular sense. It signifies primarily the non-legal prerequisites for keeping order among men. He divides it into two branches: that of the private life and that of the public. The private life is chiefly the power of the head of the family, whereas the public life is the power of the government. The details of this will appear in later chapters. In general, however, it emphasizes customary and accepted forms of behavior.

during the first years of my life. I saw clearly the happiness of primitive territories, where the poorest family owns its own habitation and finds nearby an assured livelihood in exploiting the natural products of the prairies, the swamps, and the forests. There also I met men completely happy, while I constantly saw the discontent of the populations that are grouped upon the cleared and improved territories of western Europe.

The primitive territories whose preservation is guaranteed by secular customs assure the material well-being of families more than any other régime, notably when the families have not yet acquired the spirit of forethought. The superiority of this form of territorial and social organization was often mentioned by the writers of ancient times. The same impression arises from the literature of those peoples who, under the influence of urban life and the spirit of novelty, have more or less transformed that organization. However, this eulogy of the simple life of primitive societies cannot be justified in an absolute manner either by experience or by reason. Populations have assumed a place in history only by abandoning this régime. Writers who have extolled the simple life, from Tacitus to Rousseau, were less disposed to sincerely admire its simplicity, its virtue, and its happiness than to criticize the complications, the vices, and the sufferings of their own times. In fact the two régimes have continued simultaneously from time immemorial. The simple races remained without habitual contact with the others. They supplied resources of virtue to the corrupt races and kept themselves always in readiness to rejuvenate complicated groups by immigration or conquest.

The present situation of territories given either to tradition or to novelty has been changing rapidly during the past half century. A new era has been opened by the inventions which have suddenly modified the processes of metallurgy, the organization of the manufacturing régime, and especially the means of transportation. The steam engine is infinitely superior in force to men and animals.

The machine has lessened the value of skilled manual labor and diminished the necessity of thought in every branch of labor. Coal and machines have become the universal agents of work.

and of locomotion. The countries from which coal is extracted have acquired a domination which extends to the most remote regions of the globe. In all those carboniferous countries cities, which were formerly produced only in rare localities under the continuous action of centuries, are formed in a few years. The manufactured products are shipped rapidly at low prices by land or by water. The profits assured by the exploitation of the consumer throughout the entire world increase more rapidly than does population in these favored regions. The wealth thus increased creates leisure necessary to the cultivation of the sciences and, in its turn, science by a multitude of inventions enriches the use of the territories contiguous to the coal basins. The power of the nations increases with this growth of wealth and with the progress of science. For twenty years science has been used in the invention of instruments of war and in bringing all the regions of the globe to subjection by the force of arms. Three great empires, backed by large populations, and spurred on by the spirit of novelty which derives from the coal exploitations, distinguish themselves particularly in this kind of conquest. Great Britain, Russia, and the United States already are dominant over four-tenths of the inhabited world.

I doubt whether the conquerors will have cause to congratulate themselves upon their successes. They will very likely be led to dispute among themselves over those lands which preserve with their political independence, the régime of tradition. From now on, moreover, the conquerors will be exposed to another danger. In relentlessly developing the new source of power in their territory, they have introduced there the elements of disorganization which already are inflicting suffering upon the populations and are endangering their future. The German states, France, Spain, Italy, and the other countries of western Europe, which in the preceding centuries have at different times exerted a preponderant influence upon civilization, are no longer able to extend their influence beyond their narrow frontiers. They are thus condemned to decrease in influence while the invading empires apply the new

methods of labor and locomotion upon territories twenty times greater in extent.

It is proper to appreciate the extent over which the moral and material forces analyzed in the chapters of this book are acting. To make this evaluation I take as a unit a million square kilometers (m.k.) which are equal to a hundred million hectares. (A kilometer is about five-eights of a mile and a hectare is 2.47 acres.) The entire surface of the globe amounts to 510 m.k. The habitable surface, after deducting the seas and the polar regions where man has not yet been able to settle, scarcely exceeds 130 m.k. This surface is divided into four parts as follows:

- 1. The countries of tradition where the ruling classes tend to preserve for the populations the advantage assured by harvesting spontaneous products, 65 m.k.
- 2. The three invading empires with their colonies, where the rulers have indirectly brought about the transformation of the soil and have limited agricultural and rural self-sufficiency, 53 m.k. (Great Britain, Russia, and the United States of America.)
- 3. The countries of novelty where the uncultivated land still abounds, but where they are endeavoring to imitate the example of western Europe, 10 m.k.
- 4. The countries of western Europe where the natural products are almost completely lacking to the grouped populations, 2 m.k.

Total 130 m.k.

The small states of western Europe could find useful information in the comparison of the preceding figures. Without the unlimited means of development which maritime power and railroads assure the three invading empires, they will be reduced in the near future to a condition of subjection. They would be very short-sighted if they did not seek by their union some guarantee of peace and stability.

CHAPTER XXI

Human Nature

Man is related, in many respects, to the other beings of creation and to the material order. His body contains no chemical element which is not found in the three kingdoms of nature. By his physical organism he appears to be in certain respect a simple accident among the species of the animal kingdom. He is part of a continuous series in which the organs are modified or completed in imperceptible degrees. In a classification based upon the relative value of the physical organs man does not always occupy the first rank. In most of these faculties he is very inferior to many species: in strength and dimensions to the elephant, in speed to the horse, in agility to the tiger, in sight and hearing to the bird, in smell to the dog and to humble insects. Less than most other animals he maintains the invaluable equilibrium of physical faculties from which permanent health results. He does not exclusively possess the faculty of thought, which at first sight seems to be characteristic of him. One may even doubt whether he is better able to communicate his feelings than many other animals.

Scholars who compare the faculties from which the phenomena of movement and life emanate have been able with a certain logic to place man in the animal kingdom. On the other hand, the scholars who study happiness in their fellow-beings and the rulers who assiduously try to maintain men in peace are all led to see absolute contrasts between man and other animals. This contrast reveals itself particularly among those animals which more nearly approach man. Such are, for example, those that live in groups and in habitations which they themselves construct.

Beaver, bees, ants, and other gregarious animals possess in themselves the conditions of a stable existence. From the period

of their creation they have been propagating in the same localities in a state of complete peace; and the societies which they construct are disturbed or dissolved only by the action of forces foreign to the community. In contrast, few human societies are stable. From the earliest time they have always received good or bad elements from their own kind. There exists no place where a society of men has presented the permanent spectacle of happiness. Among gregarious animals, instinct assures a well-being founded upon peace and stability; among men, the abuse of "free will" often engenders suffering brought about by instability and discord.

SOCIAL PROSPERITY

What does social prosperity mean? In general, the words "happiness" or "well-being," "unhappiness" or "discomfort" apply to the condition of families. The words "prosperity" and "suffering" express the contrast of the same social phenomena in neighborhoods and nations. The facts of history and the feeling of satisfaction among contemporaneous peoples furnish examples of prosperity. I call "prosperous" the societies where peace reigns without any recourse to armed force; where the stability of homes, of workshops, and of communities is assured by the free mutual agreement of the fathers of families; where, finally, the preservation of tradition, founded upon the mores, is the common wish of the populations.

In all ages the prosperous races have achieved happiness by the same means. The essential part of their teaching upon this subject since the earliest ages of humanity may be reduced to the following terms:

God, the supreme author of all things, created the earth and all its inhabitants. Man, his last creation, differs only in his innate nature from the rest of creation. In fact, among other gregarious animals the individual is endowed with qualities which automatically assure well-being. The gregarious animal cannot escape from that well-being and he is constrained to enjoy it by the pressure of instinct. Among the human races the very opposite

condition exists ; for the individual and society are not given to a uniform state of prosperity. To attain that goal they have always stressed the teaching presented by one or the other of two régimes : among simple races, by the father of the family, the single guardian and depositary of knowledge and authority; among complex races, by special teachers, under the control of the father. Among these teachers religious leaders always figure. No great nation has ever remained rich and prosperous without the restraint which the dogma, the rites and the personnel of religion place upon the corruption of custom. I have been seeking in vain for half a century for a social authority which can conceive of the existence of a powerful race of men where the fathers of families and the sovereign are deprived of support from religion. Free will, which is the opposite of instinct, is the distinctive attribute of man and enables him to vary the conditions of his existence infinitely. This valuable gift, which is man's very strength, is at the same time the cause of his weakness. When he gives himself over to the single impulse of his innate tendencies he condemns himself to unhappiness. God has offset this decadence of his favorite creature by another gift which is not inherent in human nature. He revealed to our first parents the moral law, which was later formulated into the Decalogue. He taught man that according to the choice which he made between good and evil he would rise to prosperity or fall into suffering. By this revelation God furnished man with the knowledge that is indispensable in gaining the advantages of freedom and greatness. Man without the knowledge of moral law falls to the last rank of created beings. With it, he not only secures peace and stability, but enjoys a satisfaction which the animal does not feel. He knows that his happiness is due both to his own initiative and to the goodness of God. In that simple fact resides the eternal explanation of the great phenomena of history : man free in the choice of his actions passes alternately either from suffering to prosperity by the practice of the moral law or from prosperity to suffering by the forgetfulness of this same law.

The gregarious animal possesses from birth all the elements

necessary to its own happiness and is capable of serving its community. To help him perform his task he receives little from education and often expects nothing from it. Scarcely out of its natal wrapping the bee goes without hesitation to gather wax or honey. From then on it obeys with docility the impulses which the leaders give, either to create or to demand from the enemy the patrimony of the association. From the point of view of the help given to social peace the individual comes out "complete" from the hands of the Creator.

Considered from the same point of view in human societies, man presents opposite characteristics. At the beginning of his life he remains a long time incapable of contributing to the happiness of his associates or even to the needs of his own existence. The child is not spontaneously inclined towards the good: far from that he reveals an innate tendency toward evil. Left to this tendency he manifests an unintelligent will, almost always contrary to the general interest. He yields only under the pressure of the authority of those who protect him against his own weakness or whose duty it is to watch over the common prosperity. If he retains the power of acting according to his own inclinations, the young man not only remains imperfect but becomes more and more anti-social.

In founding their families, the fathers naturally acquire the knowledge of these fundamental truths. Those who give some attention to the facts of their daily life conclude from it that the individual, left to his own desires, remains incapable of bringing to the well-being of the society of which he is a member the help which each gregarious animal continually gives to its kind. They understand, besides, that the degrees of suffering and prosperity observed in a society of men are in immediate relation to the dominant ideas, the customs, and the institutions which encourage all those who repress the innate tendencies of individuals. For half a century I have been pursuing research upon this subject among all human races. Occasionally I have met with discordant opinions among a few educated people, but I have always noticed the unanimity and the energy of conviction among men who,

even in the most modest circumstances, have acquired some renown by engaging in a useful art. I have found, more directly still, confirmation of fundamental truths relating to the nature of man. They are daily revealed by summary observation of contemporaneous societies, by the tales of travelers, and by the labors of historians. They are summed up, besides, in these two facts: the peoples who yield to the impulse of individual wills fall into a condition of suffering which is unknown among gregarious animals and which has, as its extreme result, the destruction of the race; those, on the other hand, who react against these anti-social wills by a judicious régime of encouragement and restraint inevitably rise to prosperity. The limits of happiness, however, are narrower than those of suffering. A single cause may constitute an obstacle everywhere to the unlimited development of the well-being of human societies. One is the resistance of individuals to the laws of rulers and another is the corruption of the rulers. Human societies are led to disobedience only in times of corruption. They are content with little and they seldom revolt against the order established by the tradition of the good, if the rulers do not openly give the example of evil.

THE MODERN REVOLT AGAINST THE TRADITIONAL LORE OF PROSPEROUS POPULATIONS

The doctrine which I have just summed up in a few words commends itself to the respect of men for evident reasons. It has been adopted by all the great races of history. It has given prosperity to the races which have respected it. Those which have ignored it have soon fallen into suffering. We have been able to see the excellence of the traditional teaching in every period by searching the history of the past, by comparing the peoples either prosperous or suffering, and more simply by consulting the intelligent people of all countries. However, one can name no cultivated nation which, after having grown by reason of respect for the moral law and by reason of the practice of the customs which emanate from it, has remained faithful to the tradition of its

ancestors. At certain fatal periods the people have abused the prosperity that was due to the virtue of the preceding generations. They have been led to evil by the sensuality of the rich, the pride of the educated, and the tyranny of the rulers. These three causes of corruption have been united for two centuries in the Occident, and they have engendered there such sentiments of hatred and scorn against the institutions of the past as are not to be found elsewhere in history.

Those who in our day are revolting against the traditional teaching deny the existence of God, the necessity of complimenting the nature of man by the revelation of the Decalogue, and the absolute contrast between man and animal. In general, these negations result in the destruction of the peace which should unite the human race; and such is, in particular, the case of the doctrines which attribute to all created beings a common origin. These new ideas are unleashing instability and discord in Europe. As a consequence they dry up the sources of prosperity. They are developed especially near the coal basins of the Occident and instigate in those regions the conditions of disturbance or disorganization described in Volumes VI and VII of *Les ouvriers européens*.

The doctrine which has for its base the traditional beliefs of humanity has temporarily lost its influence upon many minds. Thus, for instance, the scholar who prides himself upon demonstrating that the phenomena of creation were accomplished under the exclusive action of natural forces, obstinately closes his ear to the argument of the traditionalists who see in man the direct work of God. There arises thus, little by little, an almost impassable barrier between the tradition which secured peace to our ancestors and the new ideas which today develop discord among us.

The men who today rule the societies of the Occident are inclined for the most part to deny certain fundamental points of the traditional truths. This spirit of negation influences especially those who have received their intellectual culture in the schools. Under this influence the errors which, so to speak, take "the front rank," are multiplied. These errors arise among the ruling classes

from an unhealthy use of the sciences and the liberal arts. They are not confined to that class, but are soon propagated among the governed populations, owing to the recent inventions which rapidly transmit ideas, and especially owing to the condition of weakness into which the men of tradition have fallen. The false teaching of these eloquent innovators is promptly accepted as the truth by the uncultured classes. Since 1830 each error has pursued an invariable course; it is elaborated in the study of an educated person, is brought to light in a drawing-room, and twenty years later rules in the workingmen's huts.

The traditionalists of the ancient régime are in reality the authors of the present evil. After having discredited, by their vices, the institutions which have been entrusted to them, they reveal themselves inert and ignorant in the face of the propagation of dangerous new ideas. Their successors, if they remain in the same path, will unfailingly condemn Europe, to unexampled suffering. As to the plan of reform, it is pointed out by an already long experience. Those who have gone astray and upon whom the traditional truths no longer have any influence, are brought back to them by the facts which the method of observation reveals. We see, for example, many men who remain indifferent in our day to the arguments of theology concerning the existence of God. But their attention is awakened if they become able to see for themselves that temporal well-being increases in proportion to the strength of faith in God and in His law. However, we must not misapprehend the rôle which has been assigned here to the method of observation. It does not constitute an invention, since it has been used with profit by the wise of all times, notably by those who were formed in the school of Socrates. It does not replace the traditional teaching, for the latter assumes its legitimate ascendancy in the places where the masters reform themselves or where the peoples return to their tranquility. Its application in this work is a simple remedy for the dangerous malady of the races which are becoming more complex without improving themselves.

CHAPTER XXII

Means of Subsistence

Travelers have sometimes described with admiration the patriarchal and the stem-families which live in a state of isolated independence, securing a living without too much fatigue more or less directly from nature. More attentive observation and the comparative study of societies demonstrates that no one has been able to subsist perpetually in this state. The legitimate spirit of sociability can be satisfied only if diverse families are near enough to each other to entertain some daily relations in peace. On the other hand, the satisfaction derived from independent isolation remains only when the excesses of agglomeration are controlled. The happy state of equilibrium, which best harmonizes the need of sociability with the other conditions of happiness, varies from one locality to another according to the productive energy of the natural forces. In the fertile and temperate regions of Europe it is generally obtained in communities which group together at least fifty individuals per square kilometer (247 acres). Under the exclusive régime of natural products, one can obtain this degree of grouping only in greatly circumscribed localities. In a large nation the families can be sufficiently close together only if the work of man is applied as well to other things as to the harvest of natural products of the land and water. Thus, in France, where the average fertility is superior to that of the other European territories, sixty-two individuals can subsist upon a square kilometer, but this can be obtained only by the intensive use of natural resources. The density of the population varies a great deal in other countries, either above or below the average in relation to France. Thus, in the United Kingdom where the land is less fertile but has more coal mines and manufacturing, the density rises to 100. The density of population rises to 109 in the Nether-

lands and to 181 in Belgium. Finally, opposite conditions are found in territories of little fertility, where cities and manufacturing are relatively rare. The number of inhabitants per square kilometer is 14 in Denmark, 10 in Sweden, and 6 in Norway.

Prosperous societies are constituted only by giving sufficient satisfaction to the need for sociability. In those where this goal is attained the work of man is not limited to the simple gathering of the products of the soil and water. He must cultivate more intensively and develop other industries. This work, if fruitful, must be subordinated to a fundamental type of social organization. Man must not give way to the corruption which over-expanded aggregations engender. In more general terms the social organization must harmonize with the requirements of moral law.¹

After fifty years of careful scientific investigation, I recognize more and more that the joint needs for happiness and prosperity are daily bread and the practice of these universal mores. These are the necessary counterpoises of the imperfect nature of man and of his tendency to abuse his liberty. Without the help of strong mores man could not obtain the peace and the stability which instinct naturally assures to gregarious animals. When, on the other hand, one descends to the details of the daily life of each individual, the second need, the daily bread, seems the most urgent. Food alone, however, is sufficient for man only in exceptional cases. In general a dwelling, some clothing, and various objects, by means of which he provides for the principal needs and the secondary necessities of life, complete the "means of subsistence."

The mores are fundamentally the same for all human races among which one may look for examples of prosperity. They differ only in the character of submission given to the practice of the mores. On the other hand, the various groupings which men employ to provide for their existence vary a great deal according

¹ Le Play uses the terms "moral law" and the "Decalogue" to express a synthetic type of mores which he believes to have been created by all great peoples. "Societies have prospered, suffered, or perished according to whether they have respected, neglected, or understood the practice of these mores."

to the nature of the soil, the water, and the climate. The conditions of material living afford to observers the most characteristic distinctions between societies. The degree of the effort which individuals make to exist determines in many respects the rank occupied by their race in the hierarchy of societies. The classification according to means of subsistence is not confined to the human species alone.

The human races have recourse to all the means of existence which are found in an embryonic state among other living beings. However, man's life is much more complicated. The complication comes in society from the obligations imposed by the mores and the infinite diversity of the places occupied by man. The mores differ according to place; the localities according to labor. In this regard, the differences are very apparent among the populations where the eight kinds of usual labor predominate: (1) the direct appropriation of natural products; (2) the exploitation of the plains by means of pasturing; (3) the exploitation of maritime shores by means of coast fishing; (4) the art of forestry and its dependent occupations; (5) the exploitation of mines and metallurgic arts; (6) agriculture and its immediately resulting industries; (7) manufacturing industries; (8) commerce. These are the branches of activity having for objects the conservation, storing, transportation and exchange of all sorts of products.

Following are the material, intellectual, and moral effects which appear among populations devoted to these eight kinds of industry.

The Savages are distinguished from other peoples by very clear-cut habits. They subsist exclusively upon natural products by direct appropriation. To pursue these occupations they must migrate to where these products abound. They are more nomadic than the Asiatic shepherds who generally roam only in a restricted territory.

Sometimes savages approach the level of other simple peoples cited in this work. The characteristic inferiority of the savage is derived habitually from the difficulty which he experiences in associating social prestige with the old experienced members of his tribe. In all strong social constitutions, old men are naturally

charged with the duty of preserving and teaching the moral traditions. Savage life tends to emphasize youth and to decrease the importance of the aged. Nevertheless, savages tend to remain poor and absorbed in hard labor, so that they are to some extent preserved from the corruption engendered among sedentary peoples by the abuse of wealth, science, and power.

Among savages, compared to other peoples, the security of existence neither rises high nor descends particularly low. Equality in well-being or in discomfort is the characteristic trait of individual existence. We have often designated as "savages" peoples who, living exclusively upon natural products, enjoy peace and stability and can be presented as models to certain disorganized populations of western Europe. Among these models we may mention the populations of those forests which, near the polar regions, constitute the limit of the wooded territories of North America. Throughout the American Continent these populations differ strikingly from the savages of the equatorial region. The fathers ordinarily reach extreme old age, exercise a sovereign authority over their families, and perpetuate the traditions of peace and stability. Two circumstances contribute to the maintenance of paternal authority. Snow covers the ground during the major part of the year. Sleighing everywhere supplies easy means of transportation. It keeps the members of the family united and gives them the game and fish conserved by the frost. With their teachings and stories the old men furnish the family its principal diversion during the long winter nights.

To the north of these forests, upon territory ordinarily covered with ice (from the sixtieth to the seventy-second degree), there roam some nomadic tribes no less worthy of being mentioned as models. They live especially by fishing and to a lesser degree by hunting and direct appropriation. The races of those regions have an interest in drawing close to one another. They live in peace and in obedience to the moral law, and, like the peoples of the wooded regions, offer Europeans some useful lessons.

Although they are exposed to much suffering they do not wish to leave their native places. They are held there by an interest in

the struggle for life. They enjoy the hazards and the attractions of the unforeseen in their harvests, their fishing, and their hunting. They are held by the charm inherent in natural phenomena which the hand of man has not modified. They feel a spirit of liberty which is to be found in the midst of natural products more than in areas invaded by complicated and sedentary races. This sentiment for nature's freedom seems to be an instinct. It is preserved among the sedentary peoples by the passion for hunting and for games. A member of the sedentary peoples feels the charm of nature each time he visits the plains or the virgin forests.

After the travels which enabled me to see and admire the pure customs and the just ideas of the patriarchal peoples of the Orient, I experienced a still more painful impression when I returned to my country. Two kinds of men have contributed especially to my feelings of humiliation in regard to my own society: the nomads of public works and factories, whose customs dishonor my people; and the Rousseauian intelligentsia who are determined to destroy paternal authority.

The Shepherds exist on the slopes of Tibet and the chain of the Andes. Some undertake long migrations in order to obtain grass for their flocks. They move from place to place, following lines of travel fixed by tradition between the more elevated plateaus and the plains which spread out at their feet. Like the savages of America and the hunters and fishermen of the northern regions, they constitute populations essentially "nomadic."

In the bordering regions of Europe, where the facts summed up in this work were observed, the shepherds confine their excursions to localities of limited extent. They show a transition between pastoral and agricultural organization. In Africa near the Mediterranean, as in Asia near the frontier of Europe, there are three kinds of shepherds: the first live exclusively on the products of the flocks; the second exchange a part of these products for the grains harvested in the neighboring countries; the third clear a part of their territory in order to produce the grains necessary for their subsistence. It is the last type which I observed among the Bashkirs of the Asiatic slopes of the Ural Mountains. Among

them the shepherd lives in a house near the fields during the period of sowing and reaping. The other shepherds do not leave a limited grazing territory. All of them may be called "semi-nomads."

The disorganization of the Occident advances rapidly toward the Orient but has not yet passed the frontiers of Europe. Central Asia remains, as it has from the beginning, the home of shepherds. By leaving the Bashkir village situated at fifty-five degrees latitude north and going in a direct line to the plains of the Dvoedantzi, situated to the south of the Alta mountains, and then following in the same direction the shores of the Arctic Ocean, a traveler may cover one-fourth of the circle of the globe without meeting an agricultural race. I have often referred to the physical characteristics and to the pastoral customs of this immense region. It is there that the best qualities of the shepherd may be observed.

The Shepherds of the Great Plain live in the presence of nature but slightly modified by man. The gathering or harvesting of natural produce, fishing, and hunting give them precious resources and a means of recreation from their pastoral life. However, existence everywhere among them depends upon the exploitation of flocks. The prosperity of the family is limited to the well-being secured by these flocks. The primary food of the family is furnished by the milk and the meat of four species of mammals, the clothing by their wool and skins, the tent shelters by the hair made into felt, warmth by the burning of the animal dung compressed or dried, and lighting by grease. On all the plains, man is transported by horses; the shepherd is essentially a horseman. Tents and personal property are transported by camels on the great plateaus and by ox carts near the mountains. Some domestic utensils, the weapons which cannot be manufactured in the tent, and especially the objects necessary for domestic worship, are provided by pilgrims. These make periodic trips to one of three holy places which are situated in the west (Mecca), in the south (Lhassa), and in the east (Grand-kouren) of the Great Plain.

The needs of life are amply satisfied for the most part, except when the cold season is exceptionally prolonged and the subsistence

of the cattle is endangered. To avoid this as much as possible the shepherds establish reserve localities. One of the simplest and most effective of these has been in use among the Dvoedantzi from time immemorial. It is situated upon certain fertile pastures at the foot of the Alta mountains. These pastures, sheltered from the winds of Siberia, are reserved for the cattle in the spring. In May the grass is in full growth and by June it reaches a height of seven feet. In August it falls as it dries and this fall continues to the end of October. During this and the following months a thick coat of snow compresses the dried grass to an average thickness of six inches. This is the hay which the animals eat in the spring after removing the snow with their feet. The shepherds lead the horses, oxen, camels, and sheep to these retreats in the spring. In the Great Plain the families often exist under conditions closely approximating equality. Elsewhere, as in the small Mongolian sovereignties which depend upon the Chinese government, the majority are permanently subject to ruling authorities or feudal lords. Custom binds them indissolubly to the farms of their masters. However, forced relations among the nomadic shepherds as well as among the farmers of the countries contiguous to the Orient present no trace of the disadvantages which the subjection of servant to master presents in slavery.

By the exploitation of his flock, the shepherd secures his food with less fatigue than does the savage by the hunt. It is evidently a régime under which man with a certain effort gains the highest degree of security. But the superiority of the shepherds over most of the other peoples exists less in the material than in the moral and intellectual order.

The father of a family enjoys a firm authority. The adult sons do not tend, as do the young hunters, to constitute small independent families. It is to their interest to be married under the patronage of the large family formed by the grandfather, the father, and the uncles. They are obliged to submit to the mores, that is, to the ideas, the manners, the customs, and those traditions which are kept by the old men. The Mongolian tribes, which make pilgrimages to Lhassa, are particularly noteworthy for their devo-

tion to religion and for their constant preoccupation with thoughts of the "future life." The younger generation finds happiness in a social organization where the father, the interpreter of "God" and the supreme judge of the common interest, is both pontiff and king. This disposition of youth has not disappeared completely from Europe in spite of a spirit of rebellion which is beginning to penetrate into the east and the north from the west, which it has already overrun. In spite of their religious discords European nations agree in putting the sources of their faith in the valley of the Jordan. The Christians, the Jews, and the Moslems take delight in venerating Abraham, who, in the western part of the Great Plain, gave such beautiful examples of piety and of virtue to his son and his servants. Though divided in their other opinions, all agree in recognizing this great shepherd as "the father of the people and of the faithful."

The Coast Fishermen comprise an industry of two branches which differ according to the importance of their catch. These branches furnish unequal quantities of food and they elevate their families to different levels in the social hierarchy. The first branch, the less important, is engaged in fishing upon the shore itself. Its object is to procure the marine animals, notably the mollusks, and the fishes which are within reach of the shore. It is rather productive on certain shores which are uncovered twice a day by the ebb and flow of the tides. However, even in these favored localities, it is an accessory occupation, a kind of subsidiary harvest for the peoples who, in addition, engage in some other of the eight specialties. The second branch has for its object the fishes and other marine animals which are usually found distant from the shores. It furnishes immense resources in certain places. It develops energy, courage, and the spirit of enterprise among the families. These qualities, applied to commerce and war, have conferred, from the earliest times of history, an irresistible supremacy to certain peoples and have assured them the control of the seas.

The coast fisherman mentioned here is the true stem of these powerful nations. In creating a new means of transportation, in

becoming a "sailor," he has secured to the peoples who have matured upon the shores of Europe the power which the "horsemen" of the plains gave to the great conquerors of Asia.

The coast fisherman is represented in *Les ouvriers européens* by two families, one settled upon the shores of the North Sea and the other upon those of the Atlantic. The details of existence vary but the fundamental traits of the industry are the same. The essential instrument of work is the boat by which the fisherman transports himself to the different points of the surface of the water. The boat is to the trade of fishing what the rural domain is to agriculture. In spite of its mobile character, it is classed with real estate under all régimes of property. The industry of fishing lends itself more than the others to the organization of the community. In many places everything is common among the members of the crew: the ownership of capital, the performance of labor, and the division of the products. Even when the boat belongs to an absentee capitalist, the régime of the community persists to the great advantage of all interested. Three reasons, in fact, compel each man of the crew to exert upon occasion all the effort of which he is capable. First, the sailors mutually control each other since they are grouped together for the manipulation of the boat and its apparatus; second, the activity of the labor directly increases the rôle of each; and third, in the presence of a storm, energy is the only means of salvation for all. The régime of the community thus assures the greatest amount of profit to the capitalist as well as to each workman without requiring the watchfulness of the employer or supervisors.

The coast fisherman possesses, as does the shepherd, a regularity in the means of subsistence. The boat, it is true, is sometimes destroyed in a wreck but such a disaster may be in part compensated by a good system of insurance. On the other hand, the fish are not exposed, as are the flocks, to the dangers of maladies, or, like the grass, to the inclemency of the atmosphere. The fishermen are essentially sedentary. They live near the port, which is both the shelter of the boat and the market for the fish.

Their homesteads also include in most places small farms or part time shore occupations from which accessory food or income is derived to supplement that furnished by fishing. After about ten years' work as members of the crew, the sons can easily accumulate the dowries necessary for settlement according to individual tastes.

The transmission of the moral code is as assured as the means of subsistence. The fisherman, who is constantly in the presence of death, remains religious even when skepticism invades the other professions. Like the shepherd, during the long periods of enforced idleness, he teaches the practice of the moral law to his sons. He transmits it to his children by naming a son as the heir of the boat and the house. This son is the one whom he judges the most worthy of continuing the traditions of the ancestors. The coast fisherman has always been a most solid founder of the stem-family. He has set the pattern of that institution for the farmers of his community, for the other professions among the great maritime nations and finally for the colonies which these peoples have founded. The fishermen and the Saxon peasants who dominated England twelve centuries ago created the greatness of that country by substituting solid stem-families for the unstable and weak families of the Britons. By remaining faithful to that fundamental institution, the English have conquered, through immigration, a sixth part of the habitable earth. They flatter themselves, too, thanks to the intellectual impulse which the metropolis gives to the colonies, at retaining their conquests in spite of the Americans and the Russians who already occupy two other sixths of the world.

The Woodsmen. Pasturage and coast fishing are the natural industries of peoples of simple existence submissive to the Decalogue and to paternal authority. As immigrants they settle peacefully upon the plains and the maritime shores. The peoples thus formed are at first stable and prosperous. In the regions where grass and fish abound they maintain themselves in the same state even when powerful aggregations of farmers, manufacturers, and business men from the modern nations invade the contiguous terri-

tories. Upon the infertile plains and the shores where fish are scarce these agglomerated groups assume preponderance and transform the localities. In the development of pastoral and fishing societies, which have only these mediocre resources, good conditions are replaced by instability. This phenomenon is reversed in the history of forest peoples.

Forests do not require, as do the plains, special territories. They grow upon soils and climates that are very diverse. When man first took possession of the earth they occupied an area much more extensive than the plains. In the beginning they did not lend themselves to the development of a stable people. Stability grew as the more fertile wooded lands were cleared by the agricultural and manufacturing peoples. The races of woodsmen, who today present the best models of stability, were slowly formed upon those rocky and infertile territories of the mountains which were not suitable to the agricultural populations grouped in the neighboring places.

The virgin forests consist of thick groups of trees with grassy clearings inhabited by large races of animals. The first immigrants were provided ample means of subsistence by hunting. They were not long in exhausting the resources if submission to the Decalogue gave them necessary strength to increase in population. Several Celtic races of Gaul and Great Britain reached this condition under the moral code of the Druids. When they increased in numbers, land was cleared for agriculture, mining, and commerce. Because of this transformation the hunters did not acquire the characteristic solidarity of the shepherds and the coast fishermen. The mobility created by the clearing only increased the instability which originated in the incessant disorganization of family life among the hunters.

The model forest population of our time can be observed in localities where certain particular conditions exist. These forests are situated on mountains little suited to the agriculture and the social activity of plains and valleys. The careful exploitation of the forest not only is the most economic use of these mountains,

but also it preserves the lower regions from the destructive action of torrential waters which would rush down if the slopes were denuded of vegetation. It furnishes, besides, fuel and materials necessary for the lowland populations who have cleared their territories of trees.

Security of existence is permanent with the foresters. In the lowlands, on the contrary, where wealth accumulates unequally and the vicissitudes of commerce and industry multiply, it diminishes. In the model forests of Europe this security rests on social constitutions which are nearly identical. The owner resides permanently in the locality. He believes himself bound to improve his forest holdings and to transmit them to his heir. Like the employer, the workmen are organized into stem-families. The successive generations have a frugal but assured existence. They provide a suitable start in life for those of their offspring who do not desire to remain in the paternal homes. The woodsmen do not procure all their food directly as do the shepherds and coast fishermen but they obtain it easily, owing to the eagerness of the inhabitants of the neighboring country to exchange their products for those of the forest. Moreover, the woodsmen always have valuable food resources that come from the rural premises annexed to their habitations as well as from the other natural products of the forest.

The great forests of Germany have been exploited under a model plan over a period of 120 years. Each contains a quantity of wood equal to thirty-three times the average annual products. They secure well-being to numerous populations, consisting of workmen who are employed in the felling of the wood and in reforestation; those who dry it and work it into lumber, charcoal, or other forms; and finally, those who transport it to the places of distribution. When carting is the principal means of transportation, the forest industry is supplemented by farms which furnish draft animals. This greatly increases security of the means of subsistence by providing reserves of food and of supplementary labor. Finally, the security of the woodsmen is completed when the ownership of the forest is intimately bound up with certain types of mining to be described later.

The moral qualities of the forest populations of northern and western Europe rose to their highest degree during the interval between the fourteenth century and the religious wars. Since then a multitude of causes have concurred to disturb or disorganize these populations. The religious corporations and the lay-proprietors of the principal areas fell into corruption. Confiscations and political revolutions led further to less worthy leadership and rule. The centralizing of states and the weakening of provincial life tended to destroy the sentiments of duty and responsibility among the large owners. Finally, in England, France, Belgium, and in the northwest of Germany, the rapid exploitation of coal mines now tends to disorganize and destroy forestry and foresters. The model populations have been replaced by coal miners. Unfortunately the latter differ in moral habits and social discipline from the foresters or the metal miners living among the forest peoples.

In the midst of this general decay of men and institutions the woodsmen remain in the same rank as the shepherds and the coast fishermen as models of security and morality. In the localities where the remains of ancient forests still exist, the populations preserve the elements of social strength in their homes. In France, where the State displaced by violence the large lay and religious proprietors, the forest bureaucracies have been more efficient and less demoralizing than in other instances where the State took over former individual prerogatives. The bureaucracies have preserved and at times improved the good traditions of the forest people. In Germany private individuals and small local sovereignties have preserved, during these later times, some excellent models of forest utilization. In Sweden we can see how, after two centuries of corruption, the large proprietors of forests are resuming the work of security and morality carried on by their ancestors.

The Miners and Metal Workers. Considered from the point of view of the happiness of societies, mineral deposits may be divided into three classes.

The first, comprising combustible minerals little used until recently, has become so important that the nineteenth century will be distinguished in history as inaugurating the "age of coal." The

exploitation of carboniferous basins, combined with the innumerable industries in which coal is the principal fuel, has become the most powerful means of grouping populations together and creating riches. This novelty has already produced immense changes in the condition of things and men. It would have opened up an era of happiness without precedent if it had been accompanied by a corresponding progress in or preservation of the moral order. Unfortunately, the opposite effect has been produced. Numerous populations, given to suffering, develop a hatred for the present organization of society. The coal miners are among the first victims of the new psychology. Thus, one of the most fruitful discoveries humanity has made in the material order has become a potent agent of disorganization.

The deposits of the second group are materials of construction: cements, mineral fertilizers, the raw materials of glassware and pottery, and many products which lie in large masses near the surface of the ground. Other metaliferous deposits can also be listed in this group. The exploitation of these deposits involves scarcely more than ephemeral labors, performed as supplementary activities by groups related to some other industry. By reason of their intermittent nature, these labors do not find stable occupations. They momentarily acquire a large importance, but owing to the scantiness of the deposits they are of short duration, and become, for the populations drawn together by some unexpected discovery, a cause of unsettlement and instability. Such have been the results produced by the discovery of the rich gold deposits of California and Australia.

The third group comprises deposits of metal ore lying in masses of solid rocks that are more or less deep. The populations who exploit them differ greatly from the preceding two groups. In Europe some of them afford excellent examples of security of existence and perfection of customs. These examples, associated with some failures, may be observed in England in the tin, copper, lead, and silver mines of the countries of Cornwall and Devon; in Sweden and Norway in silver, copper, and steel-producing iron mines; in Austria in the steel-producing iron mines of Styria and

Carinthia; and, finally, especially in the lead and silver mines of Hanover, Saxony, and upper Hungary.

The lead and silver mines of Hanover, Saxony, and Hungary present, in great diversity, layers of these dominant metals with which in lesser proportions several others are associated. The ore is concentrated in veins, layers, and masses of varied thickness. The region where they are thickest extends horizontally for a large number of kilometers and vertically to unknown depths. In certain small regions the exploitation furnishes immense riches for a few years, and then suddenly becomes unprofitable. In certain other regions the search pursued without results for long years finally penetrates into layers in which the ore abounds. Infiltration of water is the great obstacle to subterranean labors. At certain periods it requires great or almost prohibitory expense for draining. From time to time immense draining galleries, the boring of which requires hundreds of years, dry up the works, reduce the cost of draining, and enable the miner to penetrate into some rich layers until then impenetrable. This labor requires a continuity of technical knowledge which is demanded in the same degree only by the exploitation of forests. Forestry and the stable mining industries are found together in parts of Germany. The prosperity which results there originated in the foresight of previous centuries when proper drainage was carried out on a long time basis.

These enterprises are directed by corporations which have the influence, the knowledge, the energy, and the resources necessary to success. The principal force of these great model industries is the love of the profession and the local patriotism which animate directors and engineers, as well as laborers in mines, stamp-mills, foundries, hydraulic works, and forests. At certain critical periods, brought about in the course of centuries by political disorders and natural disasters, the existence of mines has been endangered. The public power was not able to furnish the necessary subsidies so that orders were given to abandon the works. But the populations have always carried on their task by resigning themselves to the hardest privations. At times, also, the chiefs and engineers, moved by the same sentiments, have restored the former prosperity

through memorable inventions which have been epoch-making in the history of the profession. In general, the return of these crises has been prevented by applying the annual profits to forms of labor which are productive during the following centuries. This régime, to sum up, consists in creating the security of the future by means of the profits of the present.

During my early training I was saturated with the classical economic theories popular at the end of the last century. I was very much surprised in 1829 by a lesson which a miner of Hartz gave me upon that subject. I asked if it was proper to pursue, without profit, works the only result of which would be to assure to the populations a hard and frugal life in a rigorous climate. "Nothing is more useful," answered the master. "The supreme object of work consists, not in creating material riches, but in preserving a race of men submissive to God, assured of their daily bread, and devoted to the King and to the Fatherland." Since then that truth appears to me more and more valid. Everywhere vice increases with riches. Stability is especially found in relative poverty; discord afflicts the rich populations which have become unfaithful to God and rebellious against the sovereign.

The Agriculturists. Farming has been employed from the earliest ages to give security to savage peoples by tying them to the soil to render productive the soils of the plains that are unsuitable to pastoral life, to supplement the means of subsistence of the coast fishermen, and finally, to provide the necessary food for the aggregations of woodsmen, miners, and metal workers. In other cases agriculture was developed as the sole occupation of workers. However, farmers, like other groups, do not ordinarily limit themselves to a single occupation.

Settled upon the most fertile plains of Central Asia, the Shepherds present the highest degree of aggregation which a race of men, deprived of resources imported from without, can attain. Not having up to this time communicated with the rest of the world, they would only weaken themselves by engaging in agriculture. All the other peoples living upon natural products have been in a different situation. Agriculture is the first means they

have employed to increase their supply of foodstuffs and to acquire the defensive force which the grouping together of men ensures. However, the rulers have been able to encourage the quietness of these peoples and to bend them to the hard labors imposed by the clearing and the cultivation of the soil only by assuring the farmers the complete ownership of their products. They have thus favored the development of numerous traditions suitable to agriculture. Among those, two are of first importance: the holding of goods by community ownership, private ownership, or patronage; and the customs which constrain the owners to make good use of these goods to fortify the security of existence among the populations.

The régime of "community ownership" confers upon the groups of agricultural families the exclusive enjoyment of certain rights of the territory. These common goods are very useful but they remain strangers to agriculture itself, strictly speaking; they are generally only accessory parts of rural domains. They are the remnants of a former régime of direct appropriation. They furnish the proprietors (usually known as "owners in common") with accessory resources, such as grasses, fruits, game, fish, wood, fuels, and minerals. In many places their most useful purpose is to furnish some means of subsistence to poor families completely deprived of other kinds of property. There exists in Russia, it is true, much arable land owned in common by all the families of the village. The conditions under which this exceptional situation is produced only confirm the justness of the preceding observations. The parcels of the communal ground are divided anew every thirteen or fifteen years in proportion to the number of hands and animals which each family can devote to cultivation at the time of the division. But never have two families found it advantageous to cultivate a single parcel in common.

The régime of "individual ownership" leads exclusively to a form of rural domain which can be cultivated by the family members, aided, if need be, by servants closely related to the family. These kinds of property range between two extremes. The smaller are called *borderies*, or small farms. They comprise dwellings with a few parcels of ground which are worked by the

women and the children and furnish valuable resources to the home. The adult males of the family work outside for wages in the various industries of the community. The larger properties constitute farms, the extent and the composition of which are fixed in each rural district according to the prevailing customs with regard to the size of the family, the rotation of crops, the nature of the domestic animals, the mode of grouping, or the division of the fields and pastures. The owner of this farm is called the *paysan* or farmer.

The régime of "patronage" exists in localities where a single family owns a larger extent of land than it is able to cultivate, even with many servants. The territory of the owner is normally subdivided into "tenures" or leases, organized like the owner-operator farms and subsistence plots in the same country. The tenants pay the owner a rental in work, money, or kind, in proportion to the profits which the exploitation of the holding provides. Aside from this payment they enjoy all the rights which individual ownership would give them, and it is thus that the "tenure" or lease is transmitted intact to succeeding generations among tenants as well as among owners. In a model rural organization the owner does not exhaust his obligations by entrusting the land to the tenants. He is required by custom to fulfill certain duties: to reside permanently in the locality; to give his household an example of good conduct; to cultivate the "patrimonial estate" in a royal fashion, applying the best methods of work and breeding pure quality livestock; to watch over the moral and physical well-being of the tenants and of the individual owners of the community; and, finally, to exercise without compensation the functions of local government.

The models of rural organization combine these three régimes of property or goods. A "proprietor," farmers, and small farmers with an abundance of communal goods are all present, each class bringing certain qualities to the community. The small farmer displays frugality, a simplicity of ideas, and an aptitude for the hard labor on the soil, enriched by a respect for the social superiories around him. The farmer possesses the same virtues,

elevated by a higher notion of the duties which are incumbent upon him as an upholder of the communal franchise. He is the "sturdy yeoman." The proprietor, finally, is stimulated by his responsibility for the population to practice his characteristic functions: he remedies the intellectual isolation which is the principal disadvantage of rural homes, and he provides for the neighboring populations the benefits which the concentration of wealth, science, and power give to cities.

The rural hierarchy always assures this prosperity to the community when each class supports the constituent elements of a model society: submissiveness to the Decalogue and to paternal authority; respect for religion and sovereignty; and stability of the family founded upon the integral transmission of the patrimonial estate. This support is assured and prosperity rises to its highest degree when a good example is given by the proprietor.

Unfortunately it is not always thus, especially among rich, educated, and powerful nations. History shows us no nation so constituted that it has long remained faithful to these customs. Sooner or later it has allowed itself to be invaded by corruption. The evil originates with the rulers. It first spreads in the cities. When the country is invaded, it attacks first the home of the big proprietor or well-to-do cultivator. It attacks last the home of the owner-operator farmer. The owner-operators, living under the régime of the integral transmission of the patrimonial domain, resist to the last. It was among them that I found in my travels the best examples of a sane life and resignation to death. I understood the causes of the solidity of this group after seeing the old men in Switzerland and in the Basque country recommending to the heir always to show solicitude for the temporal and spiritual happiness of their descendants.

The extent of this solicitude is demonstrated in contemporaneous societies as well as by the teaching of history. Rural life guarantees the reign of peace and stability better than does urban life. Urban populations are necessary to the intellectual development of a nation, but the country men are more adapted to the perpetuation of virtue. The benefits of rural life are more

permanent because the country is less suited than the city to the production of riches. One can especially verify the exactness of these axioms in the regions which constitute the oases of virtue in present Europe: the mountains, the forests of Scandinavia, the heath and the woods of the Saxon plain, the Alpine pastures of the six small Swiss cantons of the Oberland, and the hills and shores of the Basque provinces in Spain. In these model areas the customs of the hierarchy harmonize perfectly with the feeling of union which emanates from local patriotism. In each community public opinion favors the elevation of naturally superior persons even though they originate in the lowest ranks of society. In each class the families enjoying the best reputation make it a point of honor to dedicate at least one of their children either to the service of religion, which cultivates "the peace of God" in the souls of men, or to the services of the army and of justice, which subordinate temporary individual interests to the "peace of the sovereign."

The Manufacturers. The five occupational groups which I have just described produce objects that are indispensable to the subsistence of populations. They must, therefore, be placed in the first rank in a methodical classification. The three groups which I have still to mention are not indispensable to the subsistence of man. They are even harmful, if they create riches too rapidly. That is what is happening in our day. The first two, in fact, produce under our very eyes wealthy persons who sow corruption around them. The last sends forth proud educated persons who pretend to substitute their own notions for the teachings of the mores.

Among the branches of activity which usefully supplement the indispensable professions in a model constitution of societies, the manufacturing industry occupies the first rank. It is this one which in periods of corruption causes the least harm. It became an accessory labor as soon as man had to protect himself from the inclemencies of the weather by means of clothing and habitations. Even in the more complicated societies of the present period, the manufacturing industry retains this accessory character among

certain families which secure by means of "domestic industry" the objects which the labor of their profession does not give them directly.

Under the régime of "domestic industry" manufacturing labor consists entirely in the activity of the family, but it is only an accessory occupation. All the families, nearly independent one of the other, produce, elaborate, and consume objects designed to satisfy almost identical needs. They devote their principal efforts as much as possible to the harvest and to the utilization of materials furnished by natural forces. The men hunt, fish, and exploit the soil. The weakest members of the family are employed in tasks which require little physical strength and which may be performed under shelter. The women in particular, assisted by their children, remain in the home where they prepare the food, manufacture the cloth, and fashion the clothing. During the periods of confinement indoors imposed by the winter they often help the men to manufacture the apparatus and the tools necessary for the exercise of the major industries. This organization of the manufacturing industries is characteristic of the savages of the equatorial and northern regions. It remains almost intact in Europe in a few extreme regions of the east and the north.

The régime of "collective manufacture" associates itself at times with domestic industry. This is what happens when the soil and the climate combine to make agricultural labor fruitful and to increase the products of subsistence; and when the facilities of transportation into the interior of the country and the proximity of the sea make possible the exportation to remote regions of manufactured products which are not necessary for local consumption. Under this régime rural families, amply provided by moderate labor with the things necessary to existence, can devote a great deal of time to the manufacture of cloth, utensils, furniture, tools, arms, ornaments, and other objects in use among the races which have become rich by complicating their social organization. Merchants of a special class buy the products, collect them at the nearest port, and after some further processing ship them to the consuming countries. The same merchants in turn buy the metals

and the other valuable products of the shores where their ships stop.

The well-being of families constituting such a collective factory always rested originally upon the close alliance between agriculture and manufacturing labor. Later, at certain periods favorable to the commerce of manufactured products, workers, at the instigation of merchants, made the mistake of giving up rural life. They grouped themselves into manufacturing cities, and by the time of the early Renaissance, had introduced into Italy and Flanders the first seeds of the suffering which today disorganizes the major part of western Europe.

The collective factories, rural and urban, have in turn developed and then become weak as social activity moved from the Orient toward the Occident and the north. The vicissitudes of the cities where the business of these factories was concentrated have been one of the principal themes of history. The merchants of Tyre monopolized the commerce of cloth manufactured by the wives of agriculturalists. They dyed these cloths, exported them, and brought back in return tin from the Cassiterides,² money from Murcia,³ and cereals produced in the delta of the Nile. Carthage inherited this commerce in part and was temporarily the storehouse of all the products of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Livourne, a small port of Tuscany, exported cloths; and Antwerp exported cloths and other products from Flanders. In general, the objects delivered by the rural factories were fashioned by hand by small home owners or small tenants. Often the merchant who controlled the trading filled the rôle of employer with regard to these families. It is still the same today.

Under the régime of "hydraulic factories" these merchants began, in large shops run by workmen belonging to several homes, to manufacture the products which until then had been obtained by the manual labor of a single family. As a prelude to this concentration of labor, they put into action, by the labor of animals, by the force of wind, or by the movement of water, simple tools such as the millstone, the saw, the hammer, or the bellows

² Ancient islands near Great Britain.

³ Province in Spain.

which until then had been operated by hand. This third period of manufacturing industry was, however, definitely opened only in the Renaissance when vertical hydraulic wheels were applied on a large scale in the forestry and metal industries. Since then the hydraulic factories have appeared in many industries, and they compete today in many places with steam factories. They are often founded, as were shops of workers in metal, by the owners of rural and forest estates. The latter were naturally led to introduce into the new organizations the customs of patronage which ruled in these estates. With regard to the manners and the security of the workmen the factories operated by water usually keep those old traditions and from the social point of view have an advantage over the new factories of the coal basins.

The "steam factories with mechanical apparatus" have brought into the régime of labor a more radical transformation than any which was produced in former periods. Two principal causes give the present methods unlimited power for the development of good and for the unleashing of evil. In the first place, the steam engine can produce a force which is greater than that furnished by the muscular strength of man and animals, or that furnished by the impulse of the wind and running water. In the second place, the machine which transforms raw material, an operation formerly entrusted to the intelligence and manual skill of man, in reality eliminates the function of the worker in an increasing number of manufacturing industries. By an extraordinary chain of circumstances which I have often mentioned, the two fundamental innovations of the new régime were simultaneously produced: Watt (1765) was giving to the steam engine its practical utility at the same time that Arkwright (1769), by creating his spinning machine, eliminated the principal manufacturing function of half of the human race.

Those two great conquests of matter could have increased the happiness of all the classes to which they appertained. In reality, they were a source of terrible calamity to the working population. The sentiment of danger appeared everywhere among those interested, but they were deceived as to the nature of the evil; steam

and the new machine would not diminish, as they feared at first, the demand for manual labor in the factories of the coal regions. The population necessary for the manufacture of a given quantity of products has often, it is true, been reduced to one-tenth, but, owing to reduction in selling price and other developments within the factory, production has been increased one hundred-fold, and as a result the population necessary for the factory has increased tenfold. The change, then, would have been profitable for all if it had been accomplished under the ancient custom of patronage. Unfortunately, a new invention came to offset the good which the two first might have brought. It was the influential work of a Scotch philosopher, Adam Smith, who had lived in Paris in 1763-1765 as a member of the *Society of Economists*. A complete stranger to workingmen's shop, for ten years (1766-1776) he employed his talents and his "sure reasoning" in developing the logical consequences of that "fundamental error" of the eighteenth century which had already been brilliantly anticipated in the *Social Contract* in 1762. His fascinating book on the *Wealth of Nations* has persuaded subsequent generations that patronage is a useless complication. This doctrine, convenient for the employer, pernicious for the workman in the factory, is rapidly substituting disturbance and discord for stability and peace in the work shops. It contains the seeds of the ruin of Europe.

The Traders. Commerce is different from the trades heretofore described; it neither produces nor manufacturers any material. It limits itself to the preservation, transportation, and selling of objects that have been created, harvested, extracted, or manufactured by the trades. It is useless or remains in an embryonic condition among simple societies which are content with the well-being assured by the exploitation of the localities in which they live. As soon as societies become complex, business men become necessary, and they are even more indispensable agents of complication.

Traders have a really essential function in complex societies where families reduce their activities more and more to the production of a small number of objects. They become the auxiliaries of

all the professions by saving them the loss of time which the direct exchange of products would entail. The most useful are those who by their foresight regularize the distribution of cereals, the principal food of complex nations. They save these nations from the curse of famine which periodically used to ravage the primitive races. They thus assure the apparent superiority of the present over the past. They do not justify the accusations of "monopoly" which emanate from popular prejudice.

These indisputable benefits of legitimate commerce have as their complements many ills which disorganize western Europe and are spreading gradually over the whole world. In commerce, as in the manufacturing industry, coal exerts a dangerous influence. Transportation by steam causes corruption to penetrate among peoples who, during the early part of this century, still preserved their old customs. The useless and corrupt reign of "style" introduces luxury, false ideas, and bad manners by instigating the renewal, without reason, of clothing and other personal properties. In every rank of the commercial hierarchy, unscrupulous men secure for themselves great profits by selling to all classes alcoholic liquors, stimulants, adulterated articles, bad books, obscene pictures, and in general all that can ruin the body and pervert the mind. In large cities this has developed to the point where the rich are obliged to feed themselves unwittingly upon repulsive foods, and can find every facility for satisfying the most depraved tastes.

Members of the Liberal Professions. Even though he be abundantly provided with objects, the individual lives only if the knowledge of the moral law teaches him to make such use of goods as his own preservation requires. Moreover, it is necessary that in the social surroundings in which he is placed, the individual should learn to defend moral and material life against the disturbing elements which destroy them. The aid given in these respects by the liberal professions figures as a fundamental element in the constitution of society.

The liberal arts vary even more than the usual trades and have elements that are characteristic of the definition of each society.

Among primitive and unstable classes they are reduced to the simplest terms, as are the other traits of the social constitution. The family secures for each individual the protection, the teaching, and the direction which he needs. This simplicity of the means employed to oppose invasion of evil is one of the chief characteristics of the happy races. It is due less to the organic superiority of individuals than to the relative rarity of the disturbances to which they are subject. It is progressively replaced by complication as the nations, by accumulating wealth, become more educated; and a real public danger when the abuses of wealth, science, and power invade society.

In the complex societies not all the families can live by engaging in the gathering of the natural products of the land and water. Not all parents have the necessary leisure to instruct and guide the young. Bent under the weight of heavy labor, they have to delegate certain essential duties to priests and to various instructors. Obliged to share the land among themselves in order to engage fruitfully in agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and commerce they have to organize and practice in peace a régime of prosperity which requires the help of lawyers, judges, magistrates, attorneys, and diverse auxiliary agents. The development of the usual trades also causes the need for engineers and architects to construct the highways, ships, maritime ports, means of transportation, workshops, machines, mechanical factories, large dwellings, and other establishments useful to grouped populations. Many men, made wealthy by productive labor, enjoy the leisure necessary for cultivation of sciences, letters, and liberal arts, or else they remunerate those who make such their profession. The practice of a multitude of dangerous or unhealthy trades and the disadvantages of the excessive grouping of men naturally multiply the professions devoted to the art of healing, and at the same time the development of wealth assures larger remuneration to the practitioners who acquire a great reputation in that art. From the most remote ages all these transformations with innumerable variations have been progressively accomplished in the regions favored by soil, climate, and the proximity of the great commercial high-

ways; but they invariably end with the same results. Large, rich, and educated nations are formed and the men who govern them abuse their powers to invade the territories of their neighbors. Under this impulse, which nothing has succeeded in moderating in most societies, armies multiply. Finally, the successes of men of war excite the pride of populations, stimulate error and vice, and bring about the ruin of the nations. This is the final result, if decadent peoples are not taught by national calamities to revise their notion of the true and their practice of the good.

Not all the professions, however, equally concur in the decadence of a formerly prosperous society. In the usual trades the poor, who everywhere form the majority of the people, are generally held in the line of duty by the necessity of daily toil, and the rich themselves soon lose what they have acquired if they avoid that obligation. In the liberal arts it is otherwise. In periods of decadence one may often prosper while violating one's duty. It is at the summits of the social hierarchy that this kind of success is the easiest. The men who practice the liberal professions have always been classed, in the estimation of prosperous societies, according to the part which they take in the satisfaction of the two essential needs. However, in disrupted and decaying societies, the degree of resistance which each profession offers to the invasion of corruption and suffering does not seem to correspond to its contribution to welfare in prosperous societies. The élite of prosperous societies often became the most decadent in times of social demoralization.

This social classification is not an inevitable law imposed upon nations by the nature of men, but it often appears in history. The growing prosperity of a simple race submissive to the Decalogue brings about a complication of activities and a surplus of duties for which the paternal authority is not sufficient. The agents of the liberal professions temporarily remedy this weakness. These artificial teachers, however, are not supported, in the accomplishment of their duties, by the devotion which is the natural perquisite of fathers. Sooner or later they misuse their authority, they oppress those whom they were to protect and they propagate

corruption around them. Simplicity, complication, corruption; finally, reform or ruin: this constitutes the vicious circle from which to this day no "civilized" race has been able to extricate itself.

CHAPTER XXIII

Social Constitutions and Social Authorities

All societies present a primordial character inseparable from human nature: the individuals are grouped by "social unities," that is to say by families which comprise at least a father and mother and children. The constitutions which differentiate the families between certain degrees of simplicity and complication are of infinite variety. In this variety of constitutions there always exists a "group of constituent elements" that may be called "essentials." It is they which secure for men happiness, that is to say, the common goal of our desires. Finally, the societies believe themselves happy only when they enjoy at least stability and peace.

"The essential constitution" is found in the study of history as well as in the observation of contemporary populations. It is derived from the very nature of man and from the universal mores that express this nature. A study of the sacred books of the great peoples of the earth shows that their moral laws are essentially similar. This general "agreement of the mores" entitles these principles to be called the "Eternal Decalogue." Laws similar to the ten commandments in the Hebrew Old Testament are found to be basic in all great religious philosophies.

The Decalogue imposes itself, in spite of the free will of individuals, upon societies which wish to be happy. In all times and in all places, all races have found stability and peace under this eternal constitution. On the other hand, when they have disdained to use this refuge necessary to their weakness they have fallen into suffering.

The social edifice of prosperous races comprises seven essential elements. These elements can be divided into three distinct groups.

The first group comprises the "two fundamentals," permanent and inseparable: the universal mores, or supreme law, which com-

pletes the imperfect nature of man by controlling the use of his free will; the paternal authority which provides for the teaching of the law, and undertakes to repress the innate tendencies toward evil in the young by the "rod of discipline."

The second group contains the "two cements," always allied, but variable according to race: religion and the function of government as a support to paternal authority.

The third group includes the "three materials," alone or in combination, of land ownership under its three forms: community property, individual property, and patronage. It is from the materials of this group that societies draw their principal means of subsistence.

THE ESSENTIAL CONSTITUTION AMONG THE SCATTERED FAMILIES OF EASTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE

In spite of the considerable changes recently introduced into the ideas, the customs, and the institutions of eastern and northern Europe, one still finds vast regions where the essential constitution maintains its ascendancy over minds by perpetuating peace and stability. The populations which enjoy this well-being are not only bound to the seven essential elements, but also obey other customs which may be called "the complements of the social constitution."

Primary among these complementary customs are: fertility, which creates strong families; stability, which perpetuates in each family the good traditions of its ancestors; and emigration, which guarantees the duration of these two advantages by averting the disadvantages which the excessive increase of population in agricultural or pastoral conditions would bring.

In the opinion of the model families of the east and of the north the régime of fertility does not merely conform to the natural tendencies of the race. Its strength is derived from centuries which have given power and duration to the famous peoples of history. Each father has to his family the same relationship that a good sovereign has to his nation. He is happy if he is sur-

rounded by children able to preserve the name and the virtue of their ancestors. He dies happy if he passes on his power to a worthy heir, and especially if he perceives among his descendants a man having the qualities that bring a legitimate renown to the family. And it is evident that fertility combined with obedience to the essential constitution is the only means of satisfying this double desire. It is under the inspiration of these sentiments that numerous examples of personal self-sacrifice, of love for the family and of devotion to the country are exhibited. In Germany many rural families which keep up their birth rates cannot create for themselves new establishments upon a land completely occupied; and, on the other hand, they cannot at times resign themselves to leaving the patrimonial domain. In that case certain members of each generation remain unmarried and group themselves around the one who is most able to perpetuate in the family the tradition of his ancestors. In China about a hundred families, descendants of the sons of Noah, inspired by these "sentiments," have been perpetuating themselves for forty-two centuries with the same names.

The innumerable shoots that come out of these first stems all preserve their fertility. But many of these, not able to find a place today upon the territory of the fatherland must emigrate. Not having been able to live on the paternal domain they console themselves with the thought that their ashes will rest near those of their ancestors. It is again devotion to the family which explains the longevity of the Jewish race in the extraordinary condition of dispersion in which it has been placed for a long time. Every father of this race is incessantly preoccupied with the hope that the savior of the Israelitish nation will issue from his posterity. The ideas and the institutions which are most favorable to the temporal well-being of a people are those which bind the old man to the tradition of his ancestors and to the happiness of his descendants. They perpetuate certain valuable forces which, deprived of that stimulant, would soon become sterile. The most prosperous peoples have always prolonged the active life of the old man by the respect and obedience of the young generation.

Stability is absolute in the German families mentioned above, and it exists to a degree in the customs and sentiments of the great races which, in adopting a judicious régime of emigration, encourage the fertility of all the off-shoots. The colonies of prosperous nations keep, in addition to respect for the universal mores, the ideas and customs of the mother country. Many English colonists even perpetuate the memory of the castle or the hut from which their ancestors emigrated. They do not consider their new homeland a place of exile, but wish their ashes to remain there and be a rallying point for their posterity. They do not send the remains of their deceased countrymen back to the home country, as do the Chinese of California, but those who have made a fortune consider it an honor to make a pilgrimage at least once in their lives to the place of their origin. The Christmas holiday is the period chosen for this, and one of the principal rites which remains longest in the memory of the pilgrim consists in eating pudding of old England at the table of his family.

Among stable populations the family not only preserves traditions and customs, it perpetuates the essential institutions of the race, those that are the natural supports of peace. Among the simplest races, among the shepherds of the Orient, for example, it is the families themselves which assume the responsibility of providing the indispensable services of the government for those whose object is "the peace of God" and "the peace of the sovereign." The functions of worship are exercised by the head of the family or by a member devoted to celibacy, often with the help of a neighbor who, thanks to pilgrimages to sacred places, enjoys a certain reputation for holiness. Families group themselves into local governments, and those governments which recognize among themselves a community of origin unite themselves into provinces. The functions of public life are only slightly developed because the all-powerful authority of the father within the family is sufficient to repress the manifestations of original sin and to prevent their being felt even in the neighborhood. The two great services of the "peace of the sovereign," armed force and justice, are thus little complicated. All the individuals, who

are armed rather for the hunt than for the defense of the territory, are gathered in case of need under the command of a chief chosen in accordance with tradition. The mutual relations of the families are controlled by secular customs emanating from the Decalogue. The rare disputes which arise are settled by referees or judges chosen by the interested parties. The relations between the localities and the provinces are always controlled by customs and traditional authorities, without the intervention of any written law. The functions and duties of public life, which are always without money reward, have consideration and honor as their chief reward. Even under the régimes where social peace is best assured, among the shepherds of central Asia, for instance, one finds cases where discord breaks out between two localities of the same nation. In such circumstances the social constitution has always a keystone, a sovereign charged with the duty of re-establishing public order by armed force. However, though the shepherds have a powerful sovereign for security, they dread the corruption which may emanate from his court; they desire the residence of the monarch to be remote and by excess of prudence often address themselves to two rival sovereigns who check each other when there is occasion for fulfilling the duties of protection.

In our day one scarcely meets this state of simplicity and virtue except in the northern region of Europe, but the principal traits of the constitution which I have just described existed in vast sections of eastern and northern Europe when I first visited them. As I have indicated in the epilogues of Volumes II and III of *Les ouvriers européens*, this ancient state of things has been much modified, even since 1885, under the influence of railroads and other means which increase, today more than ever, the rapid propagation of western corruption. At the moment when I am writing these lines, however, many scattered populations of relatively simple existence have resisted the invasion of the evil. We may hope then that the happiness which they enjoy will bring back to righteousness the grouped populations which have complicated their existence by giving themselves excessively to manufacturing

industry, to commerce, and especially to the cultivation of the liberal arts.

The people among whom obedience to the essential constitution continues, abound still in the Saxon plain, which lies between the Rhine and the Elbe, in the Scandinavian states, in Russia, in Turkey, in Hungary, and in the Slavic communities which border on the Occident. Even in the west there are "oases" of such people upon the high mountains of the Alps, the Auvergne and the Pyrenees, and particularly in the small Swiss cantons of the Oberland and in the Basque provinces of Spain. In preserving simple ideas, good manners, and the old customs these model races have not remained stationary; they have undergone the transformation brought about by the acquisition of new means of subsistence; but their wisdom, aided by the nature of the localities, has preserved them up to now from dangerous excesses. They have remained between the extremes of simplicity and complication in a situation where the seven essential elements of the constitution are maintained and have some chance of survival. The strong family system imposed by the nature of the place and of the labor remains the principal agent of this stability. The societies and the families perpetuate themselves by the stability of the patrimony from which the people draw their means of existence.

To sum up, a few traits characterize the simple races: they are scattered over their territory; they have as principal resources the natural products of the land and water with a few adjuncts furnished by pastoral agriculture, forests, and mines. These peoples show themselves all the more pleased with their condition because they have less recourse to the inventions of manufacturing industry, commerce, and the liberal arts. The dominant characteristic of the constitution is the supremacy of the family, submission to the universal mores, religion, and paternal authority. In addition the family is sustained everywhere on the domain of its ancestors, and by means of fertility and emigration it completes the essential elements of peace and stability. By fertility the family secures for itself the choice of a good heir; by emigration it directs toward

the colonies the superabundant energy which could disturb the metropolis.

The simple societies owe their happiness to institutions, not to the special nature of their members. Among all races, prosperous or suffering, the children are born with the same innate tendencies toward evil. In all societies, simple or complicated, these tendencies if they are not promptly repressed soon engender ruin. Under the simple constitutions which I have just described, the fathers take the place of other authorities and have the power of imposing discipline and of assuring peace. This régime does not readily reveal the method followed by its rulers. However, the word "liberty" in its modern significance is not suitable to it; for peace would be promptly destroyed if we left the young to their free will. Here the language is imposed by the nature of things; the true name is "paternal coaction."

THE REVOLT AGAINST THE ESSENTIAL CONSTITUTION AMONG THE URBANIZED FAMILIES OF THE WEST

The great nations of the West have in some ways lost the supreme notion of social peace. They know only too well the state of discord into which they are plunged, and are thus prepared to understand a summary statement of the causes which have brought about the situation.

At the end of the Middle Ages two chief factors began to shake the social order which up till then had been founded so solidly. The land, almost everywhere cleared, no longer furnished the means of settlement to the numerous off-shoots of rural families. These with their descendants were obliged to group themselves in the cities and seek their subsistence in the manufacturing industry supplied by commerce. Unfortunately, they were not long in seeing that populations living thus from the labor of their hands without the aid of the productive forces of nature have a more precarious existence than their ancestors. At the same time the clergy, abusing the use of the riches which have been collected for the great services rendered by the church over nine centuries, fell into serious corruption. Discord was un-

chained and for two centuries religious wars desolated the west. Since then a peace of sorts has ended the more apparent calamities, but profound divisions continue to separate minds. International wars exist as in the past, but the periods of peace become more and more rare and they no longer bring the restoring rest which the populations formerly found. This condition of "social warfare" which exists among nations in the midst of peace has become the scourge of the social constitutions of the west. Day by day it assumes a more dangerous character. Material suffering has as its principal origin the innovations which, while transforming the manufacturing régimes of the Middle Ages, have taken away from the population a primary satisfaction, the comparative security assured it by the medieval régime. This security was rarely endangered until the end of the eighteenth century. The guilds of the Middle Ages provided rather well for their members. The owners of the great hydraulic factories combining the activities of mining and forestry extended to their workmen privileges which custom had created for the security of the agricultural workers. Finally, beginning with the seventeenth century individuals and companies, which with the encouragement of the rulers founded the great factories, believed themselves also obligated to take a paternal interest in the workmen.

Since 1762 the errors of the *Social Contract* have given a different direction to ideas, customs, and institutions. The time of the appearance of these errors coincided with the invention of the steam engine, spinning machinery, and other mechanical apparatus which render the skill of the hands useless, and with the rise of the new cities which are concentrated in the coal regions of the west. The effects of the Revolution become rapidly more serious as railroads and steamships are organized to transport to the very ends of the world men with different ideas and the products of the urban manufacturing and commercial aggregations of the west.

Under the pressure of these changes the workers are more and more exposed to the sufferings that emanate from sudden transformations.

Moral suffering arises from the corruption of folkways and mores, which in all times has brought about decadence and the ruin of nations. The present evil, however, presents a peculiar character. It resides in ideas more than in customs, in error more than in vice. It was just the contrary in ancient times. Babylon, Nineveh, and Sodom perished primarily from the influence of sensual appetites. The same suffering caused by sensuality appears at the beginning of the two decadent periods of French history which were the reigns of the last Valois and of Louis XIV and his immediate successors. But if the origin of the evil was the same for the two periods, the means of reform, and especially the results of it, have been very different. Error, although it be propagated with good intentions, can be more fatal than vice. I insist upon this detail of the modern history of France, because it abounds in useful facts for the study of social constitutions. No country has made so many experiments on this subject and none furnishes, on this delicate matter, so much literature upon the distinction between what is really good and bad for a people.

The corruption of customs which characterized the period of the last Valois had for its origin the pernicious seeds imported by the armies of Charles VIII and of Louis XII from Italy. These seeds grew in the court of Francis I. The fateful marriage of Henry II favored the direct importation of bad Italian customs. The clergy became corrupted and politically supported the resistance offered to the necessary reforms. The reformers, on the other hand, did not have the patience to restore moral forces by the good examples of their life. They revolted against the dogmas of the church and against the authority of the king. They paralyzed the reforming action which the majority of the nobility could have exercised in the provinces remote from the corruption of the court. Michel Montaigne shows in his *Essais* the decision which the élite of the nation were obliged to make in the midst of civil war. By remaining genuinely submissive to the national customs of religion and of monarchy, he gave an excellent example of obedience until his death. He did not support the persecutions practised by the rulers, but resigned from his public

offices and retired to his rural domain. He demanded the reform of the customs of the court, but he did it with extreme moderation in order not to encourage the spirit of revolt. His writings on the customs of the clergy were still more restrained. He thus gave examples of wisdom to that large part of the ruling class which, at the end of the civil war, found itself ready to support the work of social peace and moral reform. In spite of his untimely death in 1610 Henry IV was able to accomplish this double undertaking. Social peace was provided by two principal means. In the first place he re-established, by his conversion (1593), the necessary alliance between religion and sovereignty. The spirit of harmony was introduced among the Catholics and the Protestants by means of the Edict of Nantes (1598). Henry's successor completed this in 1629 by the Edict by Restitution. Henry IV also sought to unite the two religions until the unchaining of hatred stopped his work of peace. The king laid a further foundation for moral reform by calling men of irreproachable character to power and by carefully disciplining his son, who became the chaste Louis XIII. To sum up, it was by a return to national traditions that the king restored the essential constitution and prepared the way for the brilliant period of Saint Vincent de Paul, of Descartes, and of Condé.

By overturning violently the national customs of religion and sovereignty at the beginning of his reign (1661), by fraudulently violating, with the assistance of an immoral minister, the franchises of the local governments, and finally by revoking the Edict of Nantes (1685), Louis XIV took up again the work of corruption begun by the Valois. The court of France continually perverted national customs until the reign of Louis XV. During that period of scandal the ruling class offered no remedy for the moral sufferings of the country. They left to the educated the job of cultivating the ideas of reform born in England and Germany after the religious war. The organs of opinion conceived the design of reacting, without recourse to violence, against the corruption of those public authorities which had revealed themselves powerless to keep the peace of God and of the sovereign.

They no longer thought of overthrowing the civil and religious functionaries by violence. They endeavored merely to prove that the authorities were useless and dangerous. Moved by a sincere love of humanity Jean Jacques Rousseau expressed these tendencies in a series of works which aroused enthusiasm in his contemporaries.

According to the school of Rousseau the child is born with an innate tendency toward the good. Until the present, the misfortunes of humanity have been caused by thinking that he is inclined to evil. The suffering which abounds in traditional societies is then not due to the nature of man; this belief is altogether false. It comes from the constraints and the social inequalities which weigh upon the people. "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains."

As soon as this false dogma had taken hold of the minds of the people, enthusiasts were led to depart from the pacific methods which had been emphasized by the intellectuals. Logic advised, finally, the forcible overthrow of the public powers after the teachings of the *Social Contract* had perverted the people. This decisive revolution was accomplished on the 14th of July, 1789. From then on through the nineteen transformations which it has undergone, the social constitution of France has rested in fact upon three false dogmas: systematic liberty, providential equality, and the right of revolt.

. The facts brought out above reveal in its fullness the contrast between the means employed in two periods of our history to remedy the moral suffering of the people after the calamities of the League at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Henry IV, personally complaisant to the bad manners of the court of the Valois, restored social peace in twelve years by emphasizing the four moral forces of the essential constitution. On the contrary, the reformers of austere personal habits (the disciples of the school of the "social contract"), although they sought to stimulate faith in the false dogmas of 1789, have succeeded in reforming nothing for 116 years. Yet several among them have put at the services of their errors a talent and a courage which at

times recall the virtues which men submissive to God and to His law employ in the service of truth. The innovators of 1789 have even brought about results in moral reform contrary to those which they sought. The common people, who are the principal object of their solicitude, had not been affected as had the rich classes by the corruption emanating from the court of the former régime. Today in the large cities certain categories of laborers have fallen into a condition which goes beyond what a depraved imagination can conceive.

The superiority of the customs derived from the Decalogue, when one compares them with the new ideas deduced from the three false dogmas, is not demonstrated alone by the history of France. We also find the proof in the history of neighboring nations. A conclusive proof is reached when one compares the present suffering of the French with the relative prosperity of those nations of the west which, although they have been invaded by the false dogmas, have been at least illogical enough to preserve the seven elements of the essential constitution in their institutions.

THE SOCIAL AUTHORITIES

Social science studies working families in order to know the customs and the institutions which give social peace and stability. Its principal conclusions are based upon facts coöordinated in monographs dealing with the workers. Their homes are the most valuable fields for studying the relations which exist between the workers and the other social classes. The observation of single families among very simple societies is sufficient. But simple peoples are rare in Europe where complexity is the characteristic trait. It is necessary, therefore, to enlarge the field of observation.

Before 1830 exception of a few urban and manufacturing groups with the simplicity of habits was still the dominant trait on the continent. After a single glance beyond the Rhine one was impressed with the contrast which existed between the social sim-

plicity on the Saxon plain as against the complexity even of French Normandy. Astonishment increased still more after one had traveled in the south of Spain, across the plains of the Black and the Caspian Seas, the Asiatic frontiers, and the mountains of Siberia, and along the shores of Scandinavia. Since then the invasion of railroads has complicated the social régimes in most of these countries. However, the phenomenon of simplicity is still present in the extreme regions of the Orient and in the north of Europe.

The simple peoples, scattered over vast territories, making their livelihood from the natural products of the land and water, live habitually in a state approaching equality. This is very apparent among the shepherds of the Orient and especially among certain peoples of the great plains of Asia. Each family group is composed of several families living independently upon a given territory under the authority of a common parent. Along the shores of the North Sea the families of the coast fishermen have likewise preserved for a long time a condition of semi-independence and semi-equality. This condition is more intact as one nears the polar region. It remains very apparent as far south as the Netherlands. The simple families are less numerous in Holland than among the shepherds, but they are in a condition more nearly approaching equality. They comprise only a single home governed by the combined authority of the father and the heir. With regard to the means of livelihood there is equality among the fishers for two reasons: first, the fishing area contiguous to the shore, unlike the plains, cannot be subdivided; second, the size of the boat is determined by the size of the family as well as by the condition of the water and the wind. This boat constitutes an expense. Its effectiveness cannot be arbitrarily increased as the shepherd's flocks may be increased. Uniformity of living conditions is therefore imposed upon the stem-family of fishermen more rigorously than upon the patriarchal families of shepherds.

The hunters who inhabited the forests of the Occident in prehistoric times have been completely transformed. Similar

families may now be observed only in the forests and prairies of the two Americas. These families stand in contrast with those of the shepherds and fishermen. They are distinctly unstable because of sudden variations in the resources furnished by game and the early rupture of the bonds which unite the sons to their parents. In truth, the families of the hunters do not live in a state of equality. They are essentially unstable and from this instability arises inequality of conditions. Moreover, among hunters as well as among other simple races, social classifications of families founded upon a permanent hierarchy are rarely found.¹ The régime of equality becomes modified as soon as populations no longer find sufficient means of livelihood in the natural products of the land and water.

Among the simple races, and especially among the hunters, insufficiency of resources sometimes leads to the exhaustion of natural products. This insufficiency comes also from prosperity, which has led stem-families to group themselves upon the territory rather than to emigrate. With a few exceptions European races cling more and more to this urban régime. They create new means of labor. The arts of forestry, mining, metallurgy, and agriculture increase. Having extracted the raw materials, the populations secure new resources by fashioning them into a multitude of forms. All the varieties of manufacturing industries are created. As auxiliaries, mechanical forces produced by water and air, as well as by other agents of all kinds, develop. When a people has provided for its needs by the products of its labors, it exports its surplus to foreign countries and thus increases its economic resources. Finally, after having grouped together the woodsmen, miners, agriculturists, manufacturers, and merchants, the nation becomes rich, cultured, and powerful, and finds itself in a position to develop the number and importance of the liberal professions.

While these transformations are being accomplished, certain

¹ These ethnological conclusions are partly supported and partly overthrown by later investigations. See L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of Simpler Peoples*, London, 1915, Ch. II on Government, and Ch. III on the Family. (Editors.)

greater inequalities and stratifications become manifest. Two opposing phenomena are apparent among families. First, the change in the ways of existence and the subdivision of the land and the trades, transform the homes, formerly grouped into patriarchal households, into those of stem-families or of unstable small families.² The families thus changed in character become more accessible to suffering and poverty. Second, the considerable development of wealth, science, and power elevate certain families to a very important rank in private life. These natural inequalities are accentuated by certain fictitious institutions. In fact, it is from among the rich, the learned, and the powerful that public authorities who must guide men's souls as well as govern society are ordinarily chosen. The needs for these public authorities is felt all the more because individuals, absorbed in the securing of daily food, become less capable of governing their own communities and even their own families.

The society thus constituted creates a multitude of divergent interests and establishes new relationships of obedience and of authority between the families and the public authorities. The preservation of peace therefore presents more difficulties than in simple societies with their scattered families. Direct observation perceives that a hierarchic régime is necessary. Social stratification and inequality are forced to increase.

Under all forms of social constitutions the principles of and needs for peace and stability remain invariable. Society secures to each individual the knowledge of the mores and daily food. Nevertheless, even when social peace is enjoyed, there exist profound contrasts in the means employed and the results obtained under the régimes of simplicity and complexity. These contrasts are manifested especially in the duration of the results.

Among the simple races families preserve their own well-being. The father teaches the moral law and assigns to each his share in the work and in the product. He has the power to resist disturbing influences which come from outside. Finally, the father chooses a worthy successor and possesses the influence necessary

² Le Play's family types are explained in Chap. VII. (Editors.)

to train him and to have him accepted. The traditions of the race are thus perpetuated. Among the complex but prosperous societies families preserve well-being but no longer find the source within themselves. Material progress since 1830 and the era of railroads and coal have left the majority of families no longer able to perpetuate themselves in peace unless aided by outside agencies. Generally, the father has little time to teach the mores to his children. Owning neither his workshop nor his home, it is difficult for him to keep a single heir with him. He is therefore inconvenienced in trying to transmit the traditions to the following generation. In four European societies, religious and governmental bodies, the hierarchy of these model constitutions, assure the lower classes their food, but elevate to high rank only families of great virtue. Observation teaches us, however, that the guarantees of peace are fewer among the complex than among the simple societies. The rich, the educated, and the powerful sooner or later tend to misuse their positions; the rulers forget their duties; and the leaders no longer understand the masses. The corruption of the great completes the instability begun by the complication of the society.

In Europe today we often find that a general state of discord and unrest is suddenly succeeded by a period of peace and well-being, or that one community has a peace not to be found in the neighboring groups. This spectacle is due in general to the influence of one family especially devoted to public virtue.

These model families are found among all peoples and under very diverse conditions. As prosperity increases, they are more numerous; but they are not completely lacking in the regions where suffering predominates. They disappear only in times of complete demoralization. I saw the social importance of these families during my first journey to the plains of Saxony and to the Hartz mountains. My attention being thus aroused, I sought for them on each of my numerous journeys. I always found many of them among populations in a condition of well-being.

Sometimes the heads of these families were pointed out to me beforehand because of their widespread reputations. They were

found managing large rural estates to which was often attached a numerous population of woodsmen, miners, founders, agriculturists, and manufacturers. The characteristic trait of these establishments was the reciprocal affection between the master and the workers. Under one's very eyes appeared a small state in which peace continued even though discord existed elsewhere.

Sometimes when no men of this type were pointed out by public opinion, I studied the workers who seemed best to represent the various degrees of well-being or unrest. Little by little the local influence of some good man appeared in each family. Placed in a modest station this leader, by the wisdom of his counsel and the good example of his life, was a blessing to his community. Often the influence for peace exercised upon independent families by simple artisans was greater than that of the large proprietors over their servants and tenants. The wholesome influence of these just and good men is particularly manifested when they give judgments and advice, thus eliminating lawsuits which otherwise would greatly disturb the community. These men leave a permanent influence upon life. They constantly rectify the errors now appearing in the customs and the institutions of Europe. These are the true masters of practical social science.

It was in 1845 that this truth occurred to me. Prior to this for sixteen years of study I had often been chagrined not to have discovered an unknown truth in social science. This was different from the creative work which made my reputation in metallurgy. I learned that social truths are simple. I saw that they were known to men who have the gift of causing peace to exist about them. I thought that I had at last made a discovery: namely, that the progress of social constitutions is found in the practices of contemporary men of wisdom. Before claiming the honor of this discovery, however, I thought it wise to search among the ancients. I was not long in discovering that Plato had observed and described in the same terms the true masters of social science twenty centuries before. The only difference is that I have called

"social authorities" those whom, more justly perhaps, he has called "Divine Men."

My experience led me to an idea summed up as follows: *Upon the fundamental points of social science there is nothing to invent; in this science the new is simply that which has been forgotten.*

In a period of suffering which resembles ours Plato mentioned the teaching of "Divine Men" to the political leaders of his time as the only means of "rendering the republic perfect." He was not listened to and soon this republic fell into corruption and discord. Until now I have had no better success. In 1867, it is true, a sovereign whose dominant trait was compassion for the suffering of the poor, caused a search for these men to be made. However, the ruling classes of France showed little interest in this appeal.

Social authorities find in the traditions of their family the origin of well-being and the source of comfort in the community. Their chief thought is to provide for the two fundamental needs of humanity. They deduct from the income of the family only what is indispensable for subsistence and devote the surplus to the establishment of offshoots which emigrate. Notwithstanding inequalities in their property holdings, they are all equally useful to their localities. The farmer by his good example repels the invasion of discord associated with the abuse of wealth, science, and power. The gentleman uses his fortune in protecting the population against the attacks of poverty.

The west is dominated by the fundamental logical error of 1762 and the false dogmas of 1789. The people are not inclined to reform when they are not constrained by great national calamities. I have thought it wise therefore to end this chapter by pointing out the existence of such Social Authorities, for it is through them that society will find a real peace.

CHAPTER XXIV

Prosperity, Suffering, and Reform

The occupations necessary for the subsistence of societies existed for a long time in the family, being perpetuated through apprenticeship and exercised under the direction of the father. Such is still the constitution of simple peoples who abound in certain countries of eastern and northern Europe. It is otherwise among the races of western Europe which remain prosperous though urbanized and complicated. Here few occupations are exercised by distinct families; apprenticeship is favored by the teaching of special sciences, and the management of most trades is committed to authorities established outside of the family.

The material sciences, notably the metal industry, have improved consistently. The science of society remains the one which has made the least progress. The value of experience is no less necessary to social than to the other sciences, but it is more masked by preconceived, erroneous ideas. Among the simple races of eastern and northern Europe, the practice of social science is least hindered by these obstacles. Here the universal mores, the source of absolute truth in so far as such exists, are but little obscured by the complexity of labor and the difficulties of existence. The family receives little or no interference from the agents of sovereignty. Subject only to paternal authority, the individuals do not suffer from the division of interests which exists elsewhere between the individual and the government. It is among these little family groups that the result of the diverse social constitutions is best revealed. I am going to demonstrate in this book that the method of observation, the foundation of social science, must take for its object the study of families.

Social science is not listed in the university catalogs. Only recently has it received a name. Since it teaches man the art of

happiness, it has of necessity been cultivated from the earliest ages, and since happiness is made up of all that is useful and pleasant, it comprises in truth all knowledge. It is precisely the limitless extent of social science which has prevented scholars from giving it a name. Moreover, this appearance of social science, however belated, does not constitute what may be called "progress"; it is rather an indication of decadence. We can perceive this easily when we refer to history.

The gift of the "supreme social science," that is to say, of the mores summed up to a degree in the recent Decalogue, appeared with the first men. By this simultaneous creation of moral and material life, man appeared in the world. Owing to the possession of what may be called a relatively free will, man now exercises in fact a partial creative power.

The search for happiness, reacting upon the ideas, the customs, and the institutions of societies, has caused social constitutions to come into being varying infinitely between two extreme forms. One class of people is content with the simplest means of subsistence. They remain scattered over their territories, a condition which favors the universal mores. As a consequence, they retain prosperity. A second multiplies the means of subsistence as much as possible upon their territories. They group themselves and develop, for that very reason, influences opposed to the rule of the moral law. Thus they engender corruption and fall into suffering. Certain races retain their early simplicity while others complicate themselves infinitely. From this growing contrast there naturally result some corresponding differences in the methods of social science.

PROSPERITY

The simplicity which exists in the ideas, the customs, and the institutions of a society is found in the method which it employs to maintain social peace. Until 1855 a simple, happy state of society was common in eastern and northern Europe. Since then the railroads have pushed the regions of peace and happiness towards the pole and Asia.

Under this simple régime, the father of the family is the main agent of social peace. He is the titular guardian of the secular traditions which have assured prosperity. He teaches the moral law to the young. He intervenes daily to assure obedience and to repress violations of the law. Finally, he officiates both in the rites of religion and in the functions of sovereignty. In this patriarchal organization of societies the three forms of land ownership are added, as among all stable races, to the four moral forces of the essential constitution. Under the régime of community ownership, which is the most usual, several families roam over the same pastures and are thus exposed to the friction arising from this close contact. They are, in principle, subject to the authority of a chief of a tribe, who is charged with the responsibility of keeping peace. In fact, however, the families concerned alone are almost always equal to the task of pacification. A similar state of peace exists under the régime of individual ownership and of patronage.

Compared to that of the complex races, the patriarchal method is better fitted to perpetuate domestic peace, but less capable of avoiding wars among independent nations. The study of these principles easily explains this. The psychological sovereignty which reigns over the minds of men is that of God, the author of all good, the revealer of the supreme law, the only power that is not subject either to failure or to change. This sovereignty is delegated to the family head, the only human power instituted by the universal moral code. Family authority remains the most legitimate, even in the midst of corruption, because of mutual devotion. In the exercise of his authority the father everywhere takes for his guides the customs derived from the universal moral code, but modifies them according to local circumstances. The duration of his authority enables him to observe at once the influence of any act of his. Little by little daily life assumes the distinctive characteristics of the government of the home and the workshop. Thus, even under the traditional régime of the simplest races, the method of social peace is essentially "the method of observation."

SUFFERING

Simple peoples can become complicated and urbanized without at first losing their original social peace. During my thirty years of travel in Europe, I have visited many such localities. They are frequent in eastern and northern Europe and may still be found here and there in the Alps, in Auvergne, in the Pyrenees, and in other oases of stability. Social peace based only upon the two original foundations was common in Japan before that country was invaded by merchants and European law-makers. It has existed without alteration for forty-two centuries in the plains of China.

However, one can cite neither in the past nor in the present any people which has preserved the state of social peace when the complexity of ideas, customs, and institutions has passed certain limits. When this point has been reached, suffering becomes habitual in the social constitution. Such is the situation in western Europe today.

The current complexity has arisen especially from the grouping together of families in such a way that they have lost their "goods" income arising from part-time agriculture, forestry, or fishing. In the same localities where the shepherd and the coast fishermen lived almost without effort, the artisan and the farmer, closely grouped together, now subsist only with difficulty. The parents no longer have leisure to inculcate the mores, and families become less able to resist the corruption of customs. This corruption, becoming more frequent, propagates more easily, as do epidemics, in dense populations.

When the danger becomes aggravated, the societies, if they continue to become more complex, attempt to substitute the church and the government for the failing paternal authority. The clergy assumes the responsibility for teaching the moral law. Special agents of the government attempt to organize the reign of social peace. They attempt to prevent conflicts between individuals and to repress violations of the law. Thus completed, the social constitution is all the more effective, all the less subject to corruption,

because the new powers are inclined to respect and support paternal authority. Under this régime complicated societies combine wealth, scientific advancement, and the other advantages which are characteristic of them, with the stability and peace of simple races. To attain this goal the upper classes of prosperous societies must subordinate their actions to five principal objectives: to establish a hierarchy of families founded upon virtue, talent, and wealth; to entrust to the more worthy families, as much as possible without financial reward, the higher functions of religion, public administration, justice, and military service; to prevent by controls, regulations, counterbalances, and institutions of all sorts, the corruption of public powers and especially attacks against the family; to remain faithful to the traditions of the best races with regard to the value of paternal authority; and, finally, to assure the duration and independence of the family by the stability of ancestral homesteads.

In spite of these precautions corruption develops sooner or later. It spreads among the rich, the educated, and those in the liberal professions. In time, it invades the families who compose the very body of society. The complete ruin of the society becomes inevitable. This disaster is avoided if the élite find support in correcting the vices of the ruling classes. Sometimes, when native reformers have failed, the cure comes from invaders who possess strong constitutions. Illustrations are seen in the delta peoples of the Nile and in the inhabitants of the river basins of China. These have been purified constantly by conquests from the pastoral tribes.

In the past the corruption of the chiefs of the social hierarchy has released the scourge of civil war and plunged the peoples into a state of suffering. In order to resist civil war, the fathers of families at least possessed the help of their household members. But today this compensation for public ills is destroyed in western Europe. The families are suffering from discord as much as the complex societies. In vain I have asked competent historians to point out similar examples of so dangerous a situation. Perhaps the present evil of western society exceeds all that which has been

known in the past, or history has forgotten previous extraordinary situations. A social science with special method of observation alone can cope with it.

REFORM

The sophists of England and Germany, inspired by the eloquence of Rousseau, have tried to meet the situation. They conclude that social disorders come especially from the constraints prescribed by the mores and exercised by the family heads, and by the civil, religious, and political hierarchies which increase the strength of paternal authority. They seek to abolish these constraints by overthrowing the rulers if necessary. These false dogmas have spread discord even to the extreme regions of the west. Never have rulers been so inclined to see the cause of suffering in moral constraint and never has social danger been so great as today.

In every period of prosperity the rulers have had the responsibility of bringing back the truth. Today they are largely incapable of fulfilling this part of their function. Dominated by misled opinion, they obey false convictions.

Suffering, very marked among the French, increases rapidly among their neighbors. Imprudent innovators have usurped the control of public opinion. Rousseau was followed by D. Diderot, F. A. Wolf, Adam Smith, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, A. R. J. Turgot, and the Marquis de Lafayette.

Temporarily we must give up the hope of seeing the rulers improve the present state by their own initiative. This powerlessness would have continued even had a monarchical government been restored in France since 1871.

Reform can at least be begun by individuals. The promoters must, however, judge with coolness the difficulties of success. They must avoid the discouragement that follows exaggerated hopes. They must refute two sorts of fatalism which keep men inactive, either the stupid expectation of progress or the fear produced by the belief in inevitable disaster. The situation is

far from being desperate, but it is critical. Survivors of social virtue will not be able to give active aid at first. First efforts must simply dissipate existing preconceived ideas about society.

Convictions concerning social reform can be best established by returning to certain forms of language which were employed by the wise of the past. These forms still exist in traditional institutions. They were supplanted by certain words such as "progress," "liberty," "equality," "civilization," etc. A change of language should keep step with a change of ideas.

The true constitution of a people resides more in the ideas, the customs, and the institutions of private life than in written laws. In a good constitution the fundamental customs of private life are strengthened daily and renewed from time to time by fathers and mothers who constrain their children to respect the peace of the home. They are completed by families which unite together in extending the advantages of this domestic peace to their communities. Finally, among the races which are freest, according to the true sense of the word, neighborhoods are seen to group themselves together spontaneously and to regulate their mutual interests peacefully without asking for any help from the public authority. A precise and useful meaning is given to two expressions which, in the political phraseology of modern men, have taken on a vague and dangerous character. Under "the régime of liberty" the fathers of families themselves regulate the interests of homes, workshops, neighborhoods, and communities. The authorities intervene only when the universal moral code is violated or when social peace is endangered. Under "the régime of constraint," on the contrary, the rulers regulate local affairs without these two motives under the pretext of granting justice and protection.

The social truths that I have summed up in these terms are themselves reduced to one axiom: *private life imprints its character upon public life; the family is the principle of the state.*

The discord which imperils rich, educated, and powerful nations concentrates itself principally in the relationships between parents and children, laborers and employees, the poor and the

rich, and the individual and the state. The present discord is not without precedent, but has some characteristics unknown to the past. In vain have I asked competent historians to indicate a period where similar suffering has been cured. The workers and the poor are demanding a remedy from the educated class. No results have been obtained.

At first public force was used to regiment private life. This program was, however, rejected because it resulted in contradictory acts and in confusion. Every effort made since 1789 to put it into practice failed. A transformation of society entails considerable changes in the mutual relations between individuals, families, and classes. The educated who arrogate to themselves, with so much presumption, the task of operating social reforms, are generally unqualified to establish the distinction between the good and the bad. The more enthusiastic reforms end in violence and in revolutions. The customs of prosperous peoples alone are guides to true reform. These furnish a clear notion of what is necessary and legitimate in the practices of equality, liberty, and sovereignty. I am going to sum up briefly what the observation of Asiatic and European races has pointed out in this regard.

EQUALITY AND INEQUALITY

Happy peoples in peaceful homes, workshops, and communities consider the two essential needs of human nature as the principle of their constitutions. The dominant ideas, manners, and customs are summed up in two absolute requirements. Social peace must be protected against the attacks which the natural imperfection of individuals brings about. The individual is held rigorously to the practice of the moral law. Individuals must be protected from those irresistible tendencies which lead them into disturbances if they do not enjoy full security with respect to food, shelter, clothing, and the other means of subsistence. Every language sums up these necessities in a word equivalent to "daily bread."

Simple races do not have recourse to public services, furnished by agents who are granted power over extended territorial divi-

sions. Each head of a family understands the necessity of assuring the benefits of these two services to those who depend upon him. In the eyes of his neighbors, he has the responsibility of success, because he has all the power he needs over his children and servants. Under this régime obedience to the moral law, as well as the enjoyment of daily food, continue equally in every family. It is thus that the two "necessary equalities" are gained. To these two principal conditions of happiness, customs which secure other indispensable equalities are added. These contribute to the common prosperity by facilitating the task imposed upon the heads of the families. For example, every invasion of luxury is tabooed and the traditional customs of frugality in meals, property, and clothing are perpetuated. The women and children are protected from the influence of foreign merchants who have an interest in modifying these customs, in stimulating unreal needs, and in creating new modes of existence. Rousseau understood the wisdom of these "backward races." The innovators who believe themselves faithful to the aspirations of 1762 and 1789 persuade themselves that the happiness of humanity is bound up with the incessant transformations called "continued progress." These "prophets of progress" are unaware of the fact that their ideas are in absolute contradition to the principal conviction of Rousseau, their master.

The history of famous races, and in particular that of Europeans since the Renaissance, is summed up in the progressive disorganization of the primitive state of societies. Everywhere the most apparent result of the secular life of great nations has been the grouping of men, the complication of their activities and existences, the development of accumulated wealth, intellectual culture, and political power, and the misuse of these three last forces. Their history is one of increasing inequality in social condition.

The violences of revolutions have contributed more to developing inequality than did the corruption of the Renaissance. For five years the men of the Terror tried to establish equality of conditions by means of spoliation and massacre. The opposite

result was produced. In our time, inequality of condition is developing more than ever. The wealthy and the nobles, despoiled of local rule, do not accept the decline in rank imposed upon them. By means of private inequalities, they form distinctions of rank formerly assured them by legitimate inequalities in public service. At the same time, the revolutionary institutions are causing the disappearance of certain inequalities which, founded upon the very nature of man, are indispensable to the good of societies. Such institutions are the laws of restraint which tend to destroy the distinctions between the officer and the soldier, the sovereign and the subject. These destructions of legitimate inequalities are felt in a regrettable manner. The privileges of men selected for public service correspond to general interests which arise among complex races. They are necessary in order to replace the insufficient power of fathers of families among populations weakened by the excessive aggregations of the west.

Among these ruling classes, especial honor should be paid to two groups. The first comprises the Social Authorities who in the exercise of habitual duties of private life are careful to assure the knowledge of the moral law and the enjoyment of daily food in the home, the workshop, and the community. The second, no less necessary, consists of "the true nobles." These, without the help of privilege and inspired by sentiments of honor and virtue, perpetuate the devotion to public life in their stem-families. They constitute a natural aristocracy, which is the most valuable of all public assets. By their moral ascendancy they protect complex societies against the decadence of unstable families and the tyranny of rulers. These men help the sovereign and protect the people. Their work constitutes a legitimate basis for inequality.

Other inequalities form an inextricable body of customs and institutions in western Europe. Wealth, science, and power, which in good periods brought peace and prosperity to the great nations, become a cause of discord and suffering, owing partly to the present unwise if not unequal distribution.

Among the revolutionary institutions which attempted to produce equality of conditions but arrived at an opposite result,

the law of 1793, establishing the compulsory division of inheritances and the prohibition of wills, may be given the first rank. This law has not only created inequalities but has destroyed one of the most useful classes, the farmers.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the "farmer" lived on the plains of France in peace and stability similar to those of the shepherd of the east and the coast fisherman of the north. The organization of the farmer was based on stem-families comprising about eighteen persons, each family having a productive force equal to that of ten able-bodied men and women ranging in age from twenty to sixty years. During each generation this personnel remained about the same. Each family added new members by birth, marriage, and the employment of servants, but lost former members by death, military service, and emigration. During normal times the house provided an heir to perpetuate the family. It was able in a period of twenty-five years to give six additional members to private or public service or to the colonies. It kept an estate, varying from twenty to sixty hectares of land according to the nature of the soil and the climate, in an excellent state of cultivation. At the end of each twenty-five year period, the house found itself in the same situation as it was at the beginning. Besides providing for all the needs of the estate and its personnel, it furnished a competency to the members who remained as celibates with the heir and supplied funds to the six emigrant members.

In the regions where the family now preserves its stability, the institution of the heir and the giving of dowries are practiced by virtue of common law which determines the disposal of family goods. The like situation existed in ancient France. Under this régime the joint stability of a family and of a nation is assured. All the elements of the "essential constitution" are present. The estate is indissolubly bound to the family. Among the proprietor farmers, this was done by individual ownership, but among the tenant farmers by patronage. Both types of organization were supplemented by community ownership. Submission to the moral code and to paternal authority, as well as devotion to religion and

sovereignty, guaranteed social peace and happiness. These institutions created by custom were dear to the people. Happiness of individuals was related to an informal equality of conditions. Under revolutionary law seeking formal equality, these conditions were replaced by a régime of suffering. Upon the French slope of the Pyrenees the compulsory equal division of inheritances is rapidly transforming the well-to-do farmers into impoverished proprietors. On the opposite slope the Basque and Catalonian farmers of the entire mountain chain preserve the well-being which has there been enjoyed for twenty-five centuries. In Normandy the fertile families of farmers which, from the ports of Dieppe and Saint-Malo, sent their well-dowered emigrants to the colonies, are replaced by sterile groups of tenants. It is now necessary to go to French Canada to find the former Norman fertility.

In the Swiss plains contiguous to the Rhine certain farmers of the stem-family type are disturbed indirectly by the materialistic teaching propagated by the neighboring universities. In Hungary and in Austria the tenant-farmers are detached from their former patrons by coercive laws. Instead of being free, they are now subjected to tax collectors and money lenders. In the Saxon plain, the farmers retain former secular customs almost intact but are beginning to be disturbed by the encroachments of public authority brought about by the establishment of railroads and especially by the manufacturing aggregations formed upon the coal basins of the Ruhr. Everywhere these novelties are breaking the bonds of solidarity which were adequately correcting, on behalf of the feeble and the improvident, the consequences of the natural inequality of individuals. The new conditions give each more facilities for advancing rapidly either toward riches or toward poverty; they bring out more clearly the contrasts which eventually endanger peace and stability. The extraordinary changes in the social constitutions of western societies are multiplying social inequalities. The disfranchised populations demand prompt reforms. Public opinion, no longer guided by the moral law and led astray by the three contradictory dogmas of progress,

is in a state of absolute impotence. The rupture of social bonds leads each individual to confine his aspirations to that one of the false dogmas which appears suited to his interest. The rich demand "liberty" and the poor hope for "equality." All agree in employing the right of revolt against any government which cannot satisfy these incompatible tendencies. These tendencies were formerly satisfied by the customs of the essential constitutions. The reforms of today should consist in the re-establishment of these customs. As long as public opinion spurns traditional institutions, it will necessarily have to accept certain inequalities which these institutions condemn. Only by returning to these tested institutions can we be sure that individuals will find social peace under the teachings of the moral law and their daily bread by means of honorable labor.

LIBERTY AND CONSTRAINT

The consequences of social equality are related to those of liberty. Both groups of social interests become obscured as society becomes complicated. The facts which must be considered become more numerous and the study of them more difficult. Scientific conclusions require greater effort.

This notion of necessary liberty and constraint remains very clear among simple and frugal races. Their mores are not altered by the errors of the learned speculations of merchants or by the invasion agencies of communication with the concomitants of dangerous new ideas. Under the protection of their secular customs the fathers of families have all the liberty they need to inculcate the knowledge of the mores to their children and teach them habits necessary for the production and enjoyment of daily food. They have, when necessary, the power to constrain a recalcitrant neighbor to fulfill the same duties. Between these necessary liberties and these legitimate constraints there is room for no dissent and no doubt. Little, therefore, can trouble social peace and stability under such a social constitution.

In contrast, public opinion among rich, cultivated, and power-

ful nations of the west is misled with regard to liberty and constraint. For two centuries the abuses of wealth, science, and power have lessened or even destroyed the ascendancy of the moral forces of the essential constitution. Certain populations, most invaded by the evil, hold that "progress" consists in overthrowing the moral beliefs which were formerly built up against vice and error. The teaching of those innovators who were imbued with this doctrine of progress may be summed up in four main dogmas:

1. The universal mores are useless because man, like the animal, is guided by instinct toward the feelings and acts best suited to his nature;
2. Paternal authority is an obstacle to man's destiny because the science of the schools, constantly improved by the rapid progress of ideas, has become the only reliable source of all information;
3. Youth, initiated into the knowledge of the more recent discoveries, has become more able than old age and experience to direct modern societies; so that religion is an outworn instrument to be discredited and replaced by science;
4. Sovereignty formerly founded upon the union of state and church has as its natural successor the people, who are the repositories of all authority and the sole judges of the distinction to be established between good and evil.

The European societies which have attained the highest degree of complexity have not all adopted these fundamental errors. England, for example, preserves rather well the respect for moral forces. I notice, however, that since 1836, the time of my first journey to that country, a transformation in ideas has taken place which is reacting in a very obvious manner upon customs and institutions. Thus, in regard to the relations between the employers and the workers, opinion authorizes certain liberties and constraints which are already engendering some dangerous consequence. During periods of commercial activity the innumerable coal- and steam-powered factories increase their production and by means of a large salary attract workmen who formerly

were content with a more modest but a more certain situation. Then, when unemployment follows the collapse of this artificial excitement, the manufacturers leave these declassed workmen without any means of subsistence. In assuming this liberty, the employers violate a duty which the former interpretation of the Decalogue imposed upon them. Originally, and through the seventeenth century, the mores obliged the employers to treat the workmen as their own children. Among the English the tax for the poor obliges, it is true, the property owners of each region to furnish food to the individuals who have fallen into poverty. This obligation, however, involves two unjust consequences. It disperses the members of the families thus helped into various work-houses, and it imposes a large part of the burdens which are due to manufacturing upon rural real estate.

These evils are greater in France, where the false dogmas of 1789 and the laws derived therefrom undermine almost all the commandments of the universal mores. More than in England, consequently, informed persons are obliged in the interests of public peace to tolerate dangerous liberties and unjust constraints.

OBEDIENCE, RESISTANCE, AND REVOLT

The races that are submissive to the universal moral code find there prescriptions which impose upon them the duty of accepting certain equalities and of submitting to certain constraints. Their supreme law does not indicate how the subordinate can defend himself against the powers instituted for the accomplishment of these conditions. However, custom defines the equalities and the liberties which the individual, the family, and the neighborhood have a right to claim. This is true of all prosperous races in the matter of obedience and the right of resistance. This truth, established by observation, is one of the most precious results of this method for studying social science.

The spirit of revolt against all authority was the sentiment which dominated Paris at the time when I was admitted to two of its great schools. Forearmed against this disorder by early

teaching, I was beginning to become accustomed to it when I undertook my first journey to Saxony and the Hartz mountains. The astonishment caused by the spectacle of the spirit of obedience which existed in this country was one of my strongest reactions. This admiration led to twenty-five further journeys between 1831 and 1864, and induced me to become acquainted with various other countries. Opposite lessons were given me in France by the disturbances of 1830, 1848, 1851, and 1870. The terrible consequences of these revolutions demonstrated the uselessness of violence when employed as a means of reform.

Among prosperous societies, each individual conforms to duties of subordination fixed by custom. The son obeys the father, the wife the husband, the servant the master, the workman the employer, the soldier the officer, the citizen the civil powers.

The obedience established by law and custom in each subdivision of the social hierarchy is required of subordinates even though the chief does not perform his duty. The respect due to the principle of authority does not enable written law to indicate how one may oppose a sovereign who commits abusive acts. The ruler who abuses is thus more culpable and more dangerous than the inferior who revolts. The first, made proud by power without well-defined limits, is more easily corrupted than the second who is restrained by penal law. Happily, in good social constitutions one can offset this force of evil by means more effective than the text of written laws. The disorders which law does not reach are repressed according to custom by the respectful influence of high public authorities and by the moral sentiments of the people. Legitimate resistance consists in using these influences and controls. When this resistance has failed, when the vices or the tyrannies of the sovereign are able to spread abroad with the assistance of the ruling classes, then decadence has really come about.

When such a state of things long persists in a great nation, the remedy is found in the revival of tradition and not in the abrupt change of power. The patience of the government, when it is founded upon moral forces and not upon laziness, brings on

reform. On the contrary, revolts prompted by fundamental errors and false dogmas increase the evil and lead more rapidly to ruin. This is demonstrated by the era of decadence inaugurated in France in 1661. The century of royal corruption which preceded 1789 was less fatal to France than the century of popular corruption which followed it. Brought back to its traditional institutions, France could still be misgoverned by decadent sovereigns. However, it could not, during a whole new century of bad manners and tyranny, accumulate the sum total of shame which the population of a single misled city made it undergo from March 18 to May 28, 1871.

Thus, experience condemns as useless any revolt against a government which scorns the two essential needs of the people. In France the eleven revolutions during the past century have only aggravated the evil which they pretended to cure. Reform has become a condition of existence. We must resign ourselves to it with the help of time and without violence. Time is indispensable in order to return to the national customs of periods of prosperity and to destroy the fundamental errors of present belief.

THE INCREASE IN THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE

The belief in the original perfection of the child and in liberty, equality, and the right of revolt has caused discord in societies invaded by these errors. A brief summary shows this.

These four beliefs are now rejected completely in only four European oases of virtue and in the Ottoman Empire. Since 1830 they have invaded other regions of Europe as fast as the railroads have penetrated. This invasion has taken place in the midst of unprecedented circumstances. The new ideas of the west, coming suddenly to patriarchal populations, have exaggerated consequences scarcely found in societies where complexity has long existed. The transformation has increased social disorganization all the more because it was sudden and unexpected. Thus, among the Russians, who maintain the naïve faith of former ages, the innovators are all the more popular once established. Fundamental

errors of western philosophy become absolute truths to them. These materialistic innovators profess that man at birth possesses the original perfection of the animal. The individual has in himself all the aptitudes necessary to determine and attain his true destiny. Consequently, reform and progress find "nothing" of value in the traditional institutions. This is the basic philosophy which the disciples of "nihilism" spread to the simpler peoples of eastern Europe and Asia.

In the west the "reformers" make their appeal to populations less naïve than the disciples of the "nihilists." The educated formed by the universities, the experienced politicians, the legal theorists, or the business men are not so ingenuous as the eastern peasant. Consequently, the leaders of the revolt in the west relate their ideas to the doctrines of "evolution." They do not ordinarily place themselves directly under the flag of the fundamental error; nevertheless, this false hypothesis is latent in all their writings. It appears to the attentive reader through a mass of affirmations which could be justified only if the truth of this preconceived belief were demonstrated. The doctrine does not pretend to sweep away the traditional institutions immediately. At first sight it is neither evolutionary nor even enthusiastic for reform, but in reality it tends toward a radical transformation of present day societies. Thus, in the matter of established religion the moderate evolutionists suggest that they could create a better one without a God by depending upon "science." This propaganda either denies the necessary equalities or liberties or condemns the legitimate inequalities or constraints. It ends, in general, by breaking the relationships which formerly united men; so that the definite result of this teaching is a universal reign of discord. In principle the evolutionist does not claim the right of revolt; and in this respect he does not arouse the same anxieties as does the drastic doctrine of the Revolutionists. In reality he is more dangerous because his essential purpose is the slow propagation of the other false dogmas of discord. The evolutionary teaching falsified the legitimate notions of liberty and equality which were established by tradition. It breaks necessary social bonds by disorgan-

izing the homes and the workshop. This form of disorder develops especially in the aggregations of men contiguous to the coal basins of England and France. It exposes the workmen to sufferings which were unknown under the former European régimes.

In England, ideas and customs have exaggerated the application of the principle of liberty in the workshops. The workman who is improvident or has limited ability suffers because the master is liberated from the restraints which formerly obliged the employer to guarantee the well-being of the worker. The able and provident workman retains the fundamental liberty of the fathers of families; he can appoint an heir and thus assure perpetuation among his descendants of the moral and economic customs. The disadvantages of liberty granted to the master has been thus somewhat compensated by an advantage granted the workman.

In France, laws contrary to the tradition of prosperous peoples have exaggerated the application of the principle of equality of the régime of labor as well as in the constitution of the family. The improvident workman suffers because the master, declared the equal of his servants, is exempted from the moral duties of assisting and protecting the laborer. The provident workman suffers still more because misled opinion proclaims the equality of children with regard to inheritance and takes away from the father the power of naming an heir. At the death of the head, this régime unproductively disperses the fruits of family organization. It destroys the customs which enabled the inferior classes in former France to raise themselves by means of talent and virtue to the first ranks of society.

Nor is the dole furnished the workmen by public and private charity without its disadvantages. It gives the social body a fictitious life which is a new means for maintaining inequality. The urban rich applaud themselves for a generosity which if they lived upon estates would be applied continuously to the well-being of the people of the community. Their excess wealth would be used in farming experiments, in maintaining excellent methods of

agriculture, good seed and improved breeds, as well as in the welfare of their tenants. The poor, in fact, do not accept the charities of the rich without repugnance when they cannot repay them daily by testimonies of gratitude and devotion. The régime of England is less harmful to the conservation of social peace than that of France.

I do not infer from the preceding observations that the English régime of poor relief should be applied to France. Under our present régime of centralization the spoliation of rural proprietors would become imminent. Moreover, on this point as upon all the others, real reform implies the return to a system of education which would restore to the French mind the faculty of subordinating the use of logic to the aspirations of good sense and equity.

The disadvantages of the present régime of charity could be diminished by taking account of the psychology of the workman. The study of family monographs¹ indicate that the supreme principle of charity is the help given the workmen by the employer. In spite of imperfections the English régime somewhat approaches this principle by entrusting the charities to the proprietors who live near those in need. This goal is not reached in France by the officials of charitable institutions nor by the agencies of social work. Upon this subject I learned a great deal from a carpenter of Paris, a true sage venerated by the élite among the workmen. One day I asked his opinion about charitable organizations managed principally by students. He replied, "I realize that the poverty of workmen is valuable as a means of moral education for the children of the other social classes; however, I should prefer that charity was carried on as a part of the economic system as under the English régime, rather than as something separate."

¹ See pp. 547-551.

CHAPTER XXV

Family Monographs

Workmen are individuals who labor with their hands on the products which provide for the usual needs of society. They create the essential means of subsistence. Their type varies according to places, societies, and times not only in the nature of the work they do but in their material and moral organization. Since the family is the image of a society, observing the conditions of the workman enables us to understand the social constitutions. The workman is thus the main object of study. In simple societies every family does manual labor. Among complex societies workmen still form the majority of producers and consumers. The minority is generally represented by two groups: masters, and those who follow the liberal arts.

The masters include the owners or proprietors, the capitalists, and the chiefs of all kinds who furnish certain categories of workmen with tools, with technical direction, and with moral direction and oversight. They extend to the workshop paternal functions similar to relationships between parents and children in the home. This régime of patronage has played an important rôle in the most favored societies.

The individuals and families who give themselves exclusively to the liberal arts are few in the strongest societies. However, even when localities devote themselves particularly to the exercise of these arts we can still acquire a definite knowledge of the society by limiting our studies to the workmen. The method must then indicate not only the relations between the workman and the master but also between him and the doctor, the teacher, the priest, the justice of peace, the soldier, the public officers of all kinds, and the other members of liberal professions.

THE TYPOLOGICAL OR CASE METHOD

At first it is difficult to believe that a society spread over a vast territory can be comprehended through observation of a small number of families in the principal kinds of manual labor. Man's nature shows infinite diversity. The children from the same marriage often show opposite tendencies. It seems that there are still greater reasons for expecting great differences among a number of families in the same place or profession. This theory is, however, not true to the facts. Social constitutions succeed in removing most of the inequalities which the diversity of human nature should produce.

The shepherds on the frontier of Europe and Asia present characteristics so identical that it is sufficient to observe one family in order to know them all. The same is true for the semi-nomad shepherds of the plains of the Atlas mountains, who are in contact with colonists from the less stable races of the West, and for the coast fishermen of the polar shores of Scandinavia where, owing to the rigor of the climate, very few agriculturists exist. In these three regions the families maintain a traditional uniformity and social peace through blood ties and customary social relationships. It may be remarked that the younger generations of these districts, unlike their parents, show themselves favorable to new ideas.

Up to now these simple peoples have controlled tendencies toward social change among the youth by family solidarity and by custom. Three great traditions help preserve peace and stability. The head of the family tests and chooses his follower or heir carefully. The heir and his wife are trained in the exercise of domestic authority. Under such a régime, the heads of families have the experience, the discernment, the moral ascendancy, and the effective authority necessary to successful household economy. Second, the families are scattered and have few outside contacts. The heads can protect youth from accidental corruption more easily. If necessary they often send troublesome

individuals away. On account of these factors, the complete social ties are to be discerned without difficulty in any typical family.

Among workmen of complex races the problem is more complicated. Here, also, society is not composed of isolated and independent individuals but of families. The problem of peace is somewhat the same. Individuals must be prevented from yielding to tendencies which spread discord. If this is done in the family, it is also done for a great part of the social body. The solution is the same for each of these social unities. The domestic peace of the family seems to be assured only by the harmonious union of the three conditions as among simple peoples: the choice of an excellent heir; the moral ascendancy of family authority assured by custom and respected by written law; and the organization of a regular régime of emigration which retains only the most useful members of each generation in the home, the workshop, and the community.

The social problem does not vary, but there is no uniform solution. The solution is modified in detail if not in principle as the families are more aggregated. Several factors bring about this modification. The division of labor increases; some of the new professions do not emphasize family peace or stability; and, finally, the different occupational groups tend to become very unequal in size, importance, and wealth.

This is what is happening, for example, in agriculture, which is the dominant industry of most of the sedentary races. Two principal causes tend to form a hierarchy of families in this profession. The best social conditions prevail among the owner-operator farmers. Other territory is divided into estates, each cultivated with the aid of members and servants. This condition of agriculture is soon modified. The rich acquire more land than they can cultivate. This they rent to tenants. The well-to-do live on the rents. They are led toward the liberal professions, which, being useful to the locality, assure the rich farmer or his son a moral ascendancy which is regarded by public opinion as superior to material benefits. On the other hand, the small farmer, while causing the excess members of his family to migrate, is

led to settle a few cottagers about him. This situation is very common in agricultural districts. The cottager has a dwelling and a garden plot adjacent to it. Working for wages he is useful to the large landowner and the farmers of the community during the planting and harvesting of the crops.

This growing diversity of occupations and social situations always complicates the problem of peace and renders its solution more difficult. Even paternal authority is weakened. The cottager, absorbed in physical labor and subjected with his children to the will of several masters, does not offer the same guarantees to society as does the shepherd. Primitive societies which change from simplicity to complexity always try to compensate the weakness of family organization by the authority of the clergy and the local government. This solution has always been necessary and, among some complex peoples, has led to a prosperity equal to that of the simple populations of Norway and the Orient.

THE METHOD OF OBSERVATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

When in 1828 I first became interested in social questions, I was disappointed to find that the method of observation appeared less fruitful in the social sciences than in the physical sciences. Preliminary study was discouraging. Peoples were found who at times were prosperous and at other times, under the same forms of religion and of government, were suffering. One could not agree with the political parties which attributed an absolute superiority to any particular form of religion or government independent of the character of the populations. I persisted in my researches, however, with co-laborers who were willing to share the fatigues of my journeys. I was assisted particularly by local leaders whom I had seen at work preserving happiness in their homes, their workshops, and their communities. Finally, after a few years of sustained effort my first conception of the method began to be confirmed by the results. Without arriving yet at a definite conclusion I saw that the populations who were satisfied or discontented with their fate thought and acted differ-

ently upon several essential points; that consequently they would sooner or later reveal to me the secret of happy peoples. This is what happened when the Revolution of 1848 had led me to make a new effort to draw conclusions from the observations of twenty years. I saw that the social question was obscured instead of being illuminated by the pretensions of political parties. As soon as I reached that point of view the following truths appeared to me in their full light.

Everywhere happiness consists in the satisfaction of two principal needs imposed absolutely by the nature of man (daily bread and the essential mores). Among prosperous races these needs are assured by the social structure. When the social structure is weak, happiness is no longer present.

For a half-century many observations made in *Les ouvriers européens* and in Volumes I to V of the *Ouvriers des deux mondes* applied the method to all the regions of Europe and to many other countries of the world. In these works there is enough information to enable one to escape from the yoke of contemporary, false ideas and to return to an understanding of the great traditions of humanity. It is in the agreement and the general applicability of results presented in a small number of monographs that the simplicity and therefore the practical utility of the method consists.

In order to observe human behavior, I determined to develop a method of systematic study. I was encouraged by the suffering arising in my country from industrial depressions and wars. I determined to study families in all types of societies and to reach my conclusions only after such a study. The first difficulty I met was that of the different languages. The second involved the numerous details for each family which tended to confuse thought. Not only was it desirable to study the material life of the people, such as their work, their food, their clothing, and the other goods which they consumed, but also their social relationships had to be described. In addition, the intellectual and moral life, the religion, the education, the recreation, and the sentiments of the people were found to be of importance.

After long experience I found that these difficulties could be surmounted. I found that, in time, by living with the families, one began to understand their language and their life. Since 1829 when the first investigation was started, I have completed 300 monographic studies on various families. Of these 300 only typical cases which illustrate the chief characteristics of various segments of societies are here presented.

Of course this method is sterile and useless if it is not seconded by phenomenal ability as an observer. The observer must cling at all times to the fundamentals of scientific method. *The true social science must use not only a method but intelligence as well.* In this type of work, as in other scientific work, one cannot replace a devotion to the truth by any substitute characteristic. Every observation must be verified many times. The families which are the distinct social units of humanity may be counted by millions. Each is composed of many individuals. Each individual has his own existence in a complex life. Each of these individuals is modified by the institutions of the society. However, the methods of studying society by observation are not materially different from those which are used in the study of minerals.

The first general conception which enabled me to push my study to its conclusion was that *all of the acts which constitute the existence of a working family sooner or later tend to influence its income and its expenses.* Careful observation of these tends to give one complete knowledge of a family. This principle seems to reduce social science to the study of the material elements of human life. In reality it is the most direct method of securing opposite results. It gives one a direct approach to the moral and intellectual conditions of a population. Thus, for example, it reveals clearly the degradation of a stevedore in the outskirts of Paris who expends annually 185 fr. or twelve percent of his income for drink but does not give a cent for the moral or intellectual education of his five children between four and fourteen years of age.

One cannot condense the description of a family budget without falling into an error of brevity. Often one factor is sufficient

to suggest an important conclusion to a reader, but this attitude of mind is not universal. The material, intellectual, and moral life of the simplest family comprises innumerable details. In his investigation the observer must include them all, but in the analysis he must ignore those items that are of least importance. He must avoid losing himself in details which would be more suitably the material of a novelist. In order to organize the facts the author must also have in view the two essential needs which are satisfied at any cost. The investigator has two invaluable guides, the behavior of the family with respect to the mores and its material life. He is in a position to find out whether the family suffers or prospers according to its behavior in regard to these factors. These details must appear in the essential parts of the monograph, called the family budget.

THE THREE PARTS OF THE MONOGRAPH

The collections of monographs about European workers transport the reader, so to speak, from one place to another by the medium of thought. In some respects they give him a better knowledge of populations than he might obtain by visiting them. This kind of knowledge will increase with time; in the future our collections will present to the reader information concerning elements of cultures which the historians of our period will not supply.

Such, however, is not the only purpose of the monographs. They must be consulted more than read. They are catalogues of numerous facts. In view of this special aim we have added analytical tables with a methodical and alphabetical abstract. The reader will without difficulty find the monograph containing the information he desires. However, the purpose would be but imperfectly realized if in order to discover a single figure one had to go through all the monographs. In anticipation of this difficulty this material is classified in the same order, under the same titles, and in a consistent manner. In order to facilitate comparisons,

each monograph has been reduced to about fifty pages of indispensable details. The details are always grouped into three parts:

- (1) The title, which gives the distinct characteristics of the workmen described.
- (2) The budget.
- (3) The explanatory texts.

THE TITLE

The title of the monograph describes workmen by certain common traits. By these means they are made distinct from the other classes of society. In any case, however, they are far from being equal among themselves. In Europe more than in the other continents they differ from each other in three principal ways: the profession in which they are engaged, the rank which they occupy in the hierarchy of that profession, and the system by which they are bound to the heads of the hierarchy.

In describing the means of subsistence one compares "the social value" of the various groups of ordinary trades. As a criterion of superiority the relative aptitude which each of these trades reveals for the preservation of the mores was used. The profession of the workman, therefore, is given. The reader may thus place the family he is studying in its right place in a methodical classification of societies.

The workmen in a profession do not all live on the same level. From the lowest to the highest degrees of comfort and virtue they may be in any one of six different conditions. The special differences belonging to each level vary according to the region. The most general differences in the Occident are as follows.

The *servant workers* seldom have homes of their own. They are generally bachelors living with their masters. They work exclusively for him but are remunerated in accordance with different methods and rates. Part is in salary and part is in goods or subsidies. In societies with simple customs the servant has

a humble but assured situation. Sometimes his situation becomes permanent owing to marriage and to certain grants which give the servant some of the characteristics of a tenant. In the complex economic systems of the west the servant, although remunerated by a relatively higher salary, is rarely satisfied with his situation and is always inclined to change.

Day laborers are heads of families. In the simple societies of the Orient and in northern Europe they are generally settled in houses of their own. In the west they are more and more reduced to that abnormal situation which in this region is one of the principal causes of social antagonism and instability: they must content themselves with houses furnished them by professional landlords. The day laborers work for one or several employers. They are remunerated in part by subsidies based upon the needs of their families but chiefly by a money wage proportional to the number of days of labor.

Workmen by contract are heads of families working exclusively for others as do day laborers. However they rise above common laborers through two important factors. They enter into a contract with the employer, which obligates them to perform a given quantity of work for a given price. Thus, by their energy and by the use of their minds they decrease the per unit cost of work to the employer and increase the product of their daily labor. In addition they acquire legitimate independence by becoming free to use their time according to their convenience. They thereby take a first decisive step toward the condition of independence enjoyed by the manager of a trade who works for himself.

Workmen as tenants take a further step toward independence. They exploit on their own account a property furnished by an owner belonging to another social class. The property is always a part of some lucrative exploitation. It brings together in a natural relationship two families one of which, that of the landlord, is relatively well-to-do. The landlord generally owns some of the instruments of work which he cannot use. Often families of this type give up exploitation in order to live entirely upon

rentals. They seek the honors which among strong societies are given to the large owners in return for the traditional patronage of their tenants and for free service in the public interest. The tenant family is one which lacks the capital necessary for a fruitful exploitation, but possesses the moral qualities which, under the patronage of the owner, are necessary for success. The grants made to the tenants are often very generous when each of the associated families fulfils the duties which its social condition imposes. The good tenant does not have an unhealthy feeling of degradation when the owner is imbued with the spirit of patronage. The tenants are not of a single type as are most of the servants, and the day and contract laborer families of analogous social conditions. They present rather a complete series of social situations rising by imperceptible degrees from the condition of the servant who has the right to own one animal in his master's herd to the manager of a trade who, for a given sum, receives a piece of property and exploits it with his family. All the workmen of this category are at least sure of their homes. To this possession is added in the cities a shop or small store; in the country it is supplemented by the ownership of stables and other rural adjuncts.

The owner workers occupy situations similar to those of the tenants but differ from them in owning outright the houses which they occupy. This difference, even among those who occupy two houses of equal importance, implies the social superiority of the proprietor over the tenant. The monographs on the two classes bring this superiority into relief with regard to material conditions, intelligence, culture and moral qualities. The proprietor does not have to deduct a rental from the product of his exploitation. He has sufficient discernment to avoid some of the dangers of failure and bad judgment; he does not need to have constant recourse to the patronage of a proprietor as does the tenant. Finally, he resists his sensual appetites and thus avoids the money lenders. This demonstrates that we cannot suddenly transform a race of tenants into independent proprietors. This truth is evident in the results of the imprudent laws promulgated since 1848

to emancipate the feudal tenants of Russia, Hungary, and Austria. Many tenants who lived happily under the authority of their former masters are now beginning to fall into dependence.

The managerial workmen, either tenants or proprietors, are classed next. They are recognized by habits of working exclusively on their own account. Such is the condition of the nail and rope makers, the blacksmiths, the masons, the carpenters, and other workers who, in addition to their own home, have somewhere in the community a shop for customers. They rise to the limits which separate workers from masters as such, when, still working with their own hands, they lose the characteristics of the day and piece laborers almost completely. They use the members of their families as auxiliaries and, in case of need, hire helpers. These master workmen receive two special names in the two most common arts of the west: in agriculture they are called *farmers* and in the manufacturing industry they are called *artisans* (*operatives*). The peculiarities relating to the condition of the six categories of workers form a complex group of ideas. This complexity would mar the simplicity and clearness of the monograph if it were necessary to reproduce the details in each case. It is therefore useful to sum up these peculiarities in six general terms and briefly to paint the conditions of the worker by one of these terms mentioned in the title.

The condition of the worker is not defined completely by the economic relationships which exist between him and the master. The most important item is not the salary paid by the employer nor the rent paid by the tenant; it is the nature and especially the duration of the relationships which bind these two parties. In general, this relationship is not peculiar to the worker described; it is characteristic of the society to which he belongs. Often indeed it enables one to understand whether the dominant characteristic of the social constitution is peace or discord.

Three types of agreements exist between the worker and the master. These generally succeed each other in the same place as the populations become more grouped or urbanized.

Forced agreements are habitual in countries where available

land abounds. This régime has continued in the east of Europe during the twenty years of daily study of that region. In the territories outside of Europe where the scattered families are submissive to a strong moral code and where proprietors reside in or near their buildings, the organization which has satisfied the master and the worker best is that which establishes indissoluble bonds between them. This intimate arrangement is apparent even in the localities of the Ural region where the families are beginning to aggregate. The satisfaction of the two parties with permanent class bonds is still more marked in the plains of central Asia, where the families are widely scattered upon the land. Finally, from a study of such forms of social organization in western Europe during the Middle Ages and similar ones now manifested in Russia we conclude that the master is more likely than the worker to break the feudal bond when available land is lacking.

Permanent voluntary agreements have succeeded the régime of *permanent forced* relationships in the countries of the north and in the cases of the west where peace and stability are preserved. Since 1830, however, this voluntary régime has been replaced more and more by *temporary agreements* between the social classes. This transformation has taken place as soon as respect for the mores is disturbed by the invasion of new ideas and the corruption of customs. The mutual sentiments upon which the solidarity of the master and worker rested are being rapidly destroyed. It seems no longer possible for the master and the worker jointly to determine the amount and condition of salary or rentals. Soon the rupture of the other inter-family relationships becomes inevitable. If contact between the two classes remains continual, the former state of peace is slowly replaced by discord. A social organization established under the influence of these sentiments of discord makes stability still more impossible, as would happen in the family, if the legal restraints on marriage and divorce did not remedy in part the decadence of family mores.

These considerations suffice to demonstrate that we greatly

simplify the description of a family in the title of the monographs by mentioning only the principal type of agreement, the profession of the worker, and the rank which he occupies.

THE BUDGET

The life of the workers is sometimes complicated in its details, but it may be always comprehended in two principal traits. They work ceaselessly to bring together the necessary resources for their subsistence, and also seek continuously to establish an equilibrium between the securing of these resources and the satisfaction of their needs. This intimate and daily correlation between the two elements of existence is seldom found among the families of the liberal professions. It is often lacking entirely among those who have reached the higher degrees of wealth; and, at this level of society, it may be lacking generally in total social constitutions.

The rich, in fact, generally remain personal strangers to the means of securing subsistence. They often live at a distance from the sources of their fortune. Finally, even though they reside near the source of their wealth, they generally remain inactive and establish a false manner of life for themselves by consuming products secured from other regions of the globe. The description of a family established upon such unreal bases brings but little useful material to social science. It would furnish scant information upon the mode of life of other families of the same class. Finally, it would give a false impression about the social constitutions of the country in which these families live. With rare exceptions the workers are in the opposite situation. They are settled in the places where they work. They cannot avoid taking part in local activities. They must be content with more economical ways of living and likewise, they must secure in that locality the materials which they do not themselves produce. Finally, the workers, who constitute the most numerous part of the population, are the principal consumers of the products of the soil. From this it is evident that the description of a working family makes it possible to know most of the other families and

mentions all the elements which are essential to understanding the constitution of a given society.

It also follows that, in order to have complete knowledge of a family, it is sufficient to see in detail what it produces and what it consumes. By such a study we learn not only about the material life, but also about the intellectual and moral life. As the monographs of *Les ouvriers européens* demonstrate, *there scarcely exists a sentiment or an act worthy of mention in the life of the worker which does not have its corresponding place in the budget of receipts and expenses.*

THE EXPLANATORY TEXTS

The method of family monographs was created by experience. The tables of income and expenditure came first. The verification of details was assured by the balance established between the totals of receipts and expenditures. Thus, summed up, the monographs could be used to furnish the fundamental materials of social science.

However, experience suggested certain modifications in order to render the monographs clearer. To attain this goal, two sections were added. Finally, the computing was given a separate place in an appendix, only net incomes and expenditures being given in the body.

The first section added consists of "Preliminary Observations." It serves as an introduction to the budget. Subdivided into thirteen paragraphs, it indicates the nature of the locality, the organization of the work in the locality, and above all the special characteristics of the family described. It then traces the general character of the receipts and expenditures, or in other words the means and the mode of existence. The twelfth paragraph presents a history of the family and points out either the good traits which have helped to preserve it or the bad characteristics which have tended to weaken it. Finally, the last paragraph of the preliminary observations shows how this moral, mental, and social condition of the family, by relating the organization to the cus-

toms and to the other institutions of the country, brings it either material well-being or discomfort.

The second additional section, entitled "The Diverse Elements of the Social Constitutions," does not belong to the main body of the monograph, but is appended to it. It contains a description of the social phenomena before which the worker is simply passive and the good or bad consequences of which cannot be attributed to him. In the monographs on French workers one must refer to this appendix for mention of the Napoleonic Code of equal inheritance, which periodically destroys home ownership among poor families. In the complex and centralized social constitutions many equally important regulations are imposed upon workers by the pressure of laws, the acts of rulers, and the example of the ruling classes. These cannot be related to the activities of the families; they must be entered in the appendix as characteristic elements of the social constitutions.

The detailed figures which are not indispensable are curtailed in an already complicated budget. A first series comprising an inventory of the property, the furniture, and the clothing, is given in the preliminary observations. A second part, comprising the industries which are independent of the special professions and are undertaken by the family on its own account, completes the appendix. Each of these partial accounts contains a small table where the balance is established as a profit or loss. These net results alone figure in the general analysis of receipts.

It is useless to insist further that the complex life of a working family is described very simply by an analysis of its family budget. A glance at a few monographs will convince the reader more than would a long dissertation.

CHAPTER XXVI

Means of Existence

European workers have four sources of income: property, subsidies, special work, and home industries. Those who have observed workers only in the large cities have scarcely any idea of the multiplicity of resources which exists in other regions. In a general study of standards of living they do not understand the importance of many types of income.

Two principal factors explain this diversity of incomes. Those who employ workers have recourse to a multitude of methods for remunerating them for their services. Employers pay for the worker's time or his products either in proportion to the needs of the family or to the work performed. Second, the workers occupy very varied situations according to their traditions, the occupations in which they engage, and the localities in which they live. There are some who occupy only minor positions in the social structure of the country. There are others, on the contrary, who form the very foundation of society and who often add to their regular occupation other functions as proprietor, tenant, or head of a trade. They add to the remuneration for their professional services various other kinds of income.

Servants constitute the only group with incomes habitually reduced to a very few items. In most cases they receive annual grants of food or of clothing and an annual wage. Even under these circumstances, however, the study of a system of remuneration which is proportional to needs is very complicated. A few peculiar traditional circumstances often introduce a certain variety into the income sources of bachelor-servants. This is what takes place, for example, among farm day-laborers in lower Brittany. As a servant to an employer he is authorized by local custom to own two cows which he exploits for his own profit. By custom

the employer is expected to feed, without charge, the cattle of the servant along with his own animals. These animals and the products which the servant obtains from them constitute an important factor in his income and help him to establish himself later as a head of a household owning a farm. No complication of this kind is found in the life of the Carinthian charcoalmaker. He represents the extreme of simplicity among the bachelor-servants of the west. In the north, the east, and most countries where tradition has been preserved, the servant workers have a more complex life.

This complexity is generally due to two principal causes. The servants are permitted to marry while living with the employer. By means of their accessory occupations they become similar to tenants or to masters of a trade. Such is the case, for example, with the servants in Scandinavia, Russia, and Turkey. They often undertake, on their own account, the small-scale cultivation of fields, the raising of animals, the manufacture of cloth or clothing, and various industries connected with hunting and fishing. They even engage in transportation, exchange, and speculation. As is always the case, however, the servant workers must give the greater part of their time to their employer, and these other enterprises seldom become important. This condition gives to their income a character of simplicity, which distinguishes these workers from the five other types. It is sufficient to glance over the other monographs to appreciate the difference which exists in this respect between the servant-worker already mentioned and the ordinary non-servant or day-laborer. The difference is still more marked when we compare servants with tenants, overseers, or proprietors.

The simplest case is that in which the whole family lives exclusively upon the wages of its head, remunerated according to the number of days' work performed. The budget of receipts would then comprise only a single item. It would be sufficient to know the number of days the worker was employed and the remuneration for each day. Several writers who have treated the question of salaries seem to imply that European populations are

composed of families thus constituted. This has led to grave errors. This organization of the worker's family is very rare, if in fact it exists at all.

Ordinarily the other members of the family, the wives, children, and aged parents, also engage in work and secure remunerations which contribute to the common well-being. Moreover, the more active members, the father, the mother, and the adolescents, usually undertake, in addition to their special profession, several other kinds of work. Thus, for example, certain families described in *Les ouvriers européens* had as many as ten supplementary industries. The analysis of the income from these various industries introduces a considerable complication into the budget of receipts.

✓ Families with incomes from a single source or income entirely from wages are to be found in Europe, but the cases where they do not add to their salary certain other kinds of receipts, such as income from property, the products of subsidies, or profits from home industries, are exceptional. These receipts often become the principal source of the family well-being. In the Orient there exist working populations whose usual language contains no term for the kind of remuneration which the word "salary" expresses in the Occident.

The institution of the salary income (remuneration proportionate to the work performed) arises in fact only under the modern system of temporary agreements. As long as permanence of agreement, either forced or voluntary, imposes itself upon the relation between the master and the worker, it is absolutely indispensable that daily food be guaranteed the worker. Under these permanent systems, remuneration is necessary in proportion to the needs of the entire family. Recognition of this necessity explains the sentiments of stability and peace which existed under the mediaeval European régime. Under the modern régime this necessity is no longer recognized. Social peace is therefore endangered. The populations are not sufficiently developed in intelligence and morality to be sufficient unto themselves. All the languages of the Orient and particularly those in which the word

"salary" is lacking, express remuneration proportionate to the needs of the family by an expression which has disappeared in the modern languages of the Occident.

Custom determines for each agricultural or manufacturing group the quantity of objects which enter into the daily consumption of families. On the other hand, the prices of these objects often vary. Remuneration in kind, therefore, presents more security to the family than that which is a fixed sum of money. Salaries in money, customary in the Occident, give rise to difficulties not presented where the remuneration is in kind. The French no longer have an expression to designate all the remunerations founded upon the idea of "need." Therefore the word "subsidy" is used for this purpose. Among its various meanings it includes the special concept of "need." "Subsidies" shall hereafter designate all the grants of objects in kind which, not being measured by the quantity of work accomplished, cannot be considered a salary. The subsidy is generally established proportionate to the needs of the family. It is given either annually or when special needs arise. Usually it does not end when work is suspended or retarded by commercial crisis, by sickness, infirmity of the worker, or any other cause independent of the will of the worker. It frequently happens that the benefits of these subsidies are extended to the wives, the children, and the aged parents in the case of bad conduct by the head of the family.

The salaried workers, especially those who are beginning to climb to the proprietor class, rarely limit their activities to the work they perform for an employer. They ordinarily undertake, on their own account, different kinds of industries. These industries are almost always carried on with the help of other family members. Their importance in the economic constitution of a country consists primarily in the fact that they create means of employment for the women, children, and aged parents. The industries which the families undertake present a variety hardly appreciated without first-hand study of the workers in the principal regions of Europe. The home industries often absorb a considerable amount of time, especially for the higher categories of work-

ers; they always bring some income even for the lower categories. The income budget assumes a very complicated form if we include in it all the expenditures and receipts which are related to these household industries. To avoid this complication, only the net profit which the family obtains is included. Appended accounts give the details of the activities leading to these profits.

The workers not only assume the character of salaried workers or overseers, but they often rise to the class of proprietors. They draw from the ownership of property several kinds of income which are easy to confuse with the three other kinds (wages, subsidies, home industries). Others not yet provided with real property possess sums of money or other valuables which, after having brought revenue for some time, are often used in the acquisition of real property. Still others who do not rise to the condition of proprietors continue to own valuables other than those which may be adapted to the special needs of immediate consumption. The family finds a source of revenue in these possessions by using them either in the performance of labor or in the exercise of industries. Among the valuables of this kind which workers ordinarily possess we must especially mention domestic animals, tools, and in general the special materials related to their work and their industries. The ownership of these objects, like that of real estate, because it assures an income independent of manual labor, has a great importance from the social point of view. By an imperceptible gradation it relates the customs of the workers to those of the higher classes of society.

It is important to give the four distinct categories of income. There is a certain usefulness in grouping them, in order to bring out into strong relief the most essential facts. But separate presentation is necessary in a method where it is proposed especially to emphasize considerations of morality and security, as well as the progressive development which each social organization assures to different kinds of workers. To satisfy this need, we devote the first section of the budget to the incomes from property. Successively follow enumerations of the products of subsidies, salaries, and the profits of home industries.

THE THREE KINDS OF PROPERTY INCOME

Real property is of primary importance from the standpoint of security and social development. The tents of nomads and the movable huts of a few sedentary workers are of little value. The families ordinarily own them in the same way as they do their clothing. It is otherwise with dwellings whose location, material, and construction require considerable expenditure. In order that the worker may own this kind of property or improve it when it has been transmitted to him as an heritage, he must already have attained a high degree of morality and thrift. Observation proves, moreover, that the ownership of his dwelling is what European workers most ardently seek. Families of only moderate prudence acquire these dwellings by submitting themselves to privations which they will not undergo for any other purpose. It is usually by means of this kind of acquisition that the taste for ownership is developed among workers. Employers who have preserved traditional habits of solidarity feel the need of decreasing their own responsibility and of diminishing the burden of their duties toward their workers. They are therefore led to develop moral sentiments and the love of ownership among their employees. They nearly always secure good results by stimulating the desire for home ownership in the workers.

Farm or garden lands also have a great appeal to workers. First of all come gardens suitable for the cultivation of vegetables, and orchards planted with fruit trees. Often this small-scale cultivation is considered a necessary adjunct to the dwelling. Many workers own in addition, at a certain distance from their dwellings, various kinds of property, such as fields for the cultivation of potatoes, corn, and other cereals; prairies which produce the hay necessary for feeding the domestic animals; lands devoted to special crops, such as grass, hemp, and hops, melons and pumpkins, cucumbers and other cucurbitaceous plants; finally the various buildings or sheds used as barns, stables, or hog pens.

Each social constitution may, to a large extent, be summed up in the laws which regulate the possession and use of real property.

The name of proprietor, given to all owners of real estate, does not therefore imply the enjoyment of the same rights in every region of Europe. The very organization of the nomads is hardly adapted to the ownership of real property. The pastures, even when exploited exclusively by a group of families, are rarely subdivided among the various heads of families as their own property. They use them in common, as sedentary peoples make use of their common goods. Among the Russian farmers the heads of families exercise, in general, all the rights of ownership which are personally useful to them. In practice it is the interests of the users more than the rights of the lord which establish the conditions of property use. Ordinarily, the land is granted for a period of thirteen to fifteen years. After this the entire territory is reallocated. Among the populations engaged in other professions, and especially among the mine workers of the Ural mountains, the ownership of the prairie lands is transmitted from generation to generation in the same family, but nowhere is the farmer permitted to accept a mortgage on his property or to sell it to strangers. Among the Turks, who differ a great deal from all European régimes in their constitution, there exist four kinds of territorial properties. The dominant trait of these Turkish properties is that they are more or less encumbered with taxes for various public services and especially for the support of various needy persons.

A few years ago in Hungary and in some provinces of the Austrian empire, the rights of property for the working classes were still more or less limited by the feudal régime. There, as in certain regions of the Orient, the limits imposed upon the rights of property were for the purpose of maintaining solidarity between members of communities and between the various classes of society. In the Occident (France, for example) the restrictions applied to the rights of property are imposed for a different reason. The aim of France is no longer the security of the working class or the preservation of tradition under the influence of certain classes of society. Some of the restrictions, such as expropriation practiced by the State, are founded upon con-

siderations of material interest; others, such as certain limits introduced into the régime of inheritances, are established with the aim of subordinating the rights of paternal authority to temporary political interests.

Personal property plays an essential rôle in the life of European workers. Almost everywhere the ownership of domestic animals is a sure index of comfort and well-being. It is also one of the first symptoms of the development of thrift. Provided they live in a semi-rural environment, workers of the lower classes find the purchase of animals easier than the purchase of a dwelling. The acquisition takes place by degrees and requires only a small amount of savings. European social customs, universally recognized, have from time immemorial brought about a multitude of practices whose object is to assure this kind of property to the populations. A methodical description of these customs alone would furnish the material for a useful book. Often the employers, or in their place special purveyors, furnish on credit young animals which the families raise until they can secure an income from them and pay back the loan. In many cases the employer places at the disposal of the worker certain means for the raising of animals, that is to say, pastures, oak groves, and bedding, on condition that he share the products of the arrangement after a stated period of time. Sometimes the worker who has been able to acquire animals with the product of his savings, but who lacks means of feeding them, leases them temporarily to a neighbor who has pasture and feed. This neighbor, after having used these animals, returns them to the owner at the end of the appointed time. The owner finds his profit in the increment of value which they have acquired. At other times, the worker is authorized by custom to feed a certain number of his animals at the expense of the employer. In many countries institutions and customs, having almost the force of law, aid the workers who have no other resources. Their domestic animals are fed either upon common pastures or by means of grants of grass, leaves, and animal food from forests or other properties belonging to the State. Finally, elsewhere and especially in the countries where

the system of temporary contracts deprives the lower class of workers from the advantages of these protecting institutions, the proprietors, often stimulated to a spirit of charity by the last vestiges of local tradition, supplement the laborer's income by granting pasture rights for certain domestic animals which are considered indispensable to the life of needy families.

Except upon the shores of the Mediterranean, milk is one of the principal foods of the populations. In the greater part of Europe it is furnished by cows, sheep, and goats; in the Arctic region by female reindeer; near the frontier of Asia by mares. In many localities the establishment of a new home is subordinate to the acquisition of these animals. Everywhere, moreover, workers obtain through the exploitation of domestic animals certain other foods of great importance for the home. They often make use of beasts of burden and draft animals in transporting goods for money. Among these other useful species of animals we may mention poultry, bees, hogs, sheep, oxen, horses, and in certain localities rabbits, pigeons, and silk worms. In general, those workers who keep several kinds of these creatures live in uniform, if plain, comfort. The failure to keep these animals beyond the seasons when other means of food are abundant must be regarded as a symptom of penury or lack of thrift among the families. This has always been indicated in the family budgets. Domestic animals, especially milk cows, render such important services that they arouse feelings of gratitude and affection in the members of the family. Cows are always the object of special care. Their stables are situated near the house. In certain cases, they are admitted, so to speak, into the common interests of the home. In periods of poverty it is not rare to see the family impose privations upon themselves in order not to lessen the supply of food for the animals. The ownership of domestic animals increases the development of thrift and care among the individuals. It gives the lower class workers a peculiar kind of moral education; it contributes in part to the establishment of that social superiority which belongs to the country workers as compared with those of the cities. The materials and tools of various

labors and industries are also a kind of property which must figure in the study of income, since they share in production as effectively as do the furniture and the domestic animals. Under this general title we comprise workshops and small stores, looms and work benches, tools, instruments, industrial property, utensils, arms, and apparatus used for fishing, hunting, and harvesting.

The floating capital for these works and industries must also be considered. It is rarely formed by sums of money. Owing for the most part, however, to the progressive accumulation of the products of home industries, the floating capital scarcely constitutes a very large amount. We have not taken account of this in the receipts because the value of the floating capital is generally balanced by the debts which the families had to contract for the acquisition of the objects. When the floating capital as well as its corresponding income is important it has been entered. Sums of money are important as property of the working classes only in the countries where habits of hoarding are practiced. These habits, very common still among certain Asiatic peoples, no longer exist as a general practice in certain countries of Europe. The workers of contemporary European societies are no longer inclined to hoarding and are not yet disposed to accumulate money for the purpose of putting it out at interest. They are willing to deprive themselves in order to acquire domestic animals, a house, rural property and, in general, all material objects the possession of which is a source of daily benefit. They are less affected by more remote benefits, not less real, however, which result from the investment of their annual savings at compound interest.

In order to counteract this tendency, benevolent persons and governments have founded various insurance and savings institutions which are generally considered powerful means of morality. Some of these services, such as savings banks and retirement funds, are so well known that it is unnecessary for us to describe them here.

But independent of banks, where savings increase by compound interest, there exist in western Europe a multitude of institutions under the name of thrift or mutual benefit societies. These

societies require the members to save certain sums deducted regularly from their pay. The amounts thus raised are not left at the free disposal of the subscribers but are granted to them only in emergencies. Thrift societies are related in many ways to savings banks. They are different, in general, in that individual ownership is more or less subordinated to the needs of the community.

Mutual benefit is so ancient in the industrial economy of Europe that its exact origin is not known. It is probably to be found in a multitude of collective institutions which flourished in the Middle Ages. The principle of mutual benefit never developed greatly, however, so long as the organization of work rested essentially upon the solidarity of the master and the workers. Even today mutual benefit societies are not known in the states of the north and the east where this inter-class solidarity has been maintained. Their greatest development is in the manufacturing regions of the west, where the institutions, the customs, and even the organization of industry tend to establish independence between the master and the worker.

Mutual benefit societies do not incorporate, as do savings banks, the real essence of thrift. In truth, they are but a testimony of the powerlessness of the members to supply their own needs when left to themselves. Many such societies are due to the initiative of employers or of benevolent persons. Societies established without the aid of the employers have often failed. Those which succeeded appealed especially to the more intelligent workers, attempting to arouse their honor, their professional pride, or even the spirit of hostility against the employers. This was especially true of unemployment benefit societies organized in Switzerland and in England. Many workers hesitate to belong to societies in which assistance has the character of charity. The success of the French *compagnonnages* and the English Order of Odd Fellows indicates the preference which the most distinguished workers have for the pure workers' organizations, especially where secret rites stimulate sentiments of union among them without in any manner endangering public security.

Mutual benefit societies are divided into two principal cate-

*gories. The first aims especially at the accumulation of a sum which may return to the family in circumstances which are ordinarily rather remote. The family, in cases especially fixed by statutes, receives certain advantages, the practical value of which may be reckoned according to the amount of periodic deposits made and according to the probability of need. Sometimes these advantages accruing to the family are determined by the amount of down payments made by each future recipient. The fund ordinarily remains available to the subscriber for a considerable period of time. The affiliation with this kind of an association is therefore equivalent, for the subscriber, to the possession of a certain capital, the amount of which must be considered a special kind of property. The most important societies founded upon this principle permit either old age or death insurance. Most of the organizations assume the burial expenses of their members.

The second type is organized for the purpose of providing for certain events which are to occur within a short period of time. Ordinarily membership is not considered a capital asset, as in the savings and insurance clubs. Each society immediately divides among the individuals affected by the events which are to be offset the major part of the sums deposited by all the subscribers. The mutual engagements can be liquidated at any moment. The most important societies of this kind assure medical treatment and, especially, a subsidy in money which takes the place of salary. Many others, less numerous among workers, provide for a multitude of eventualities. They do not all give the same degree of security to their members. Those which insure the workers against unemployment would be most useful if they offered sufficient guarantees. The disappointments come especially from circumstances the probability of which cannot be established clearly beforehand.

These various combinations of insurance are extremely complicated. We therefore understand the superiority of the former social institutions in which the employer assumed the responsibility in all circumstances and provided for the security and the well-being of the families related to his estate or business. In the

workshop, as well as in the family, the solution of the social problem of our time consists in securing to individuals not the satisfactions of independence but the benefits of solidarity.

It is often difficult to secure complete information from a family. Various reasons sometimes lead the workers to conceal a part of their resources. They do not always respond to studies which concern them. On the contrary, it is easy to evaluate the incomes from properties when once the nature and importance of this kind of income has been properly specified. Incomes from leased properties and sums of money placed on interest are entered as net. This is also done when the rental value of properties can be estimated by comparison with that of other property invested under analogous conditions.

Workers acquire property primarily for the purpose of applying the products obtained to their own needs. Consequently, in most cases the value of the products resulting from the exploitation of property represents not only the income which it would yield if leased but also the wages due the work of the family members, the expenses of exploitation, and finally the profit, if any, which the family secures. The income from such properties is determined by taking as a base the average return from personal property or real estate applied to agriculture or manufacturing industry in the community (alternative value or "opportunity cost"). This evaluation is verified, however, by making sure that it agrees with the balance established for each industry in the accounts annexed to the budget.

A rapid examination of the budget of receipts will enable one to appreciate the diversity of property which European workers enjoy in most localities and the importance of the subsidiary resources which they add to the salary.

THE PRODUCTS OF SUBSIDIES

Under the European régime subsidies, that is to say, remunerations given to workers according to the needs of the family rather than in proportion to the labor performed, exceed that

coming from property, both in variety and in importance. Social necessity forces the higher classes to provide a living to the thriftless populations. This necessity has from time immemorial determined most of the economic combinations, varying with the climate, the soil, the industries in each locality and especially with the intellectual and moral conditions of the workers. There is perhaps no question to which human thought has been given more earnestly. There is certainly no question for which are more numerous solutions.

Subsidies enjoyed by European workers are divided into three principal categories. These are, first, property received in total usufruct; second, lesser rights on neighboring properties; and third, grants of consumable objects and of services.

Property received in usufruct secures to the use of the greater part of European workers certain kinds of capital goods which are owned outright by only a small proportion. The most ordinary subsidy is the house. Others, following in the order of importance for the domestic economy of the working families, are fields, meadows, and other rural property, domestic animals, liquid capital for domestic work and industries, and finally sums of money received as loans without interest or with reduced interest.

The right to partial use of neighboring properties presents many analogies with usufruct. The two subsidies differ because the rights never comprise the exclusive use of the properties or of their products. For the major part of Europe these rights are today and have been for several centuries one of the principal bases of the well-being of the population.

Several rights of partial use are established upon properties which workers enjoy in common, by virtue of secular customs, as members of the community or of corporations. Among these properties may be mentioned industrial workshops and, in general, the instruments of labor exploited by the communities. We may also mention ovens, mills for the grinding of cereals, butcher's vices, wine presses, and cider and oil presses owned by the inhabitants of a village. Other rights of use apply to agricultural products coming from the labors of others, such as the rights

of gleaning in the harvesting of fruits and cereals. These rights to partial use just listed are very important in some localities but generally are less valuable than other subsidies produced by independent labor, notably those taken from the natural products of the soil and the water. Among these independent products may be mentioned herbaceous plants used as hay or for grazing or gathered for bedding; fish caught near the maritime shores; wild game and fish which are not the object of special care; wild fruits and mushrooms (which are for the peoples of the north an important resource); all the products of the forest, especially lumber and fuel; peat, reeds, and other special products of swampy regions; various materials and fertilizers furnished by the quarries, the mines, and the shores of the sea, lakes, and rivers; and finally manure, the excrements of animals, and various other substances gathered from public highways.

The subsidies of the third category (grants of consumable objects and of services) are for the purpose of providing directly for the needs of families; the two preceding subsidies satisfy these needs chiefly by giving the worker certain useful rights similar to those possessed by the landed proprietor. These consumable objects granted as subsidies are numerous, influencing in one way or another all the things consumed by the family. In general, they contribute to the production of an object consumed by the family, and are related to the same group as these objects themselves. Such, for example, are the gratuitous making of clothing and the furnishing by the employers of the means of transportation by which workers bring their provisions of fuel or hay to their homes.

An estimate of the value of subsidies generally presents more difficulties than is the case with incomes from properties. Only rarely is one able to establish this estimate clearly. It is necessary to resort to indirect methods, varying in each particular case. The more general method consists in the use of comparative estimates for each subsidy. For instance, in determining the value which should be assigned to the grass eaten by a family milk cow in a pasture received as a subsidy, the value of all the products secured

for the family from the upkeep of that animal are determined as against the total expenses incurred for the same purpose. The excess of receipts over expenses represents the assigned value of the products of the pasture and the profits arising from the exploitation of the cow. When the total of these two values has been obtained, the determination of each presents but little uncertainty, since we can subtract from the value of the articles of food, the rate of profit realized by the family from other industries of the same importance. In general, these subsidies are of only small value, and an arbitrary method can lead to only insignificant errors. Furthermore, these errors have little influence upon the total results. They only increase or decrease the amounts deriving from the subsidy in contrast with those resulting from the profits of industry. Finally, the practice of this kind of analysis and the more thorough knowledge of the facts related to the subsidy which it gives, adds to the exactness of the general conclusions. Ordinarily the industries founded upon the use of particular subsidies are of little importance, and, if necessary, the profits resulting from these industries can be added to the immediate products of the subsidy. This is the principle adopted in this work. For most of the details of the monographs the study of one particular case will give more light to the reader than all the theories which could be given in the present chapter.

INCOME FROM LABOR

Manual labor constitutes the principal source of income. It is the essential activity and gives the worker's family its distinctive character. The methodical analysis of all the work accomplished by family members is, in reality, the most exact definition which can be given of its social, moral, and intellectual condition and habits.

The analysis is subdivided naturally into as many sections as there are family members that work. The labors of the head of the family and those of his wife always come first. Those of the children, when their importance is small, are united. When the

child's labor is important, it is the object of separate computations. Special sections also are given to the aged parents and to the collateral members of the family if they are a part of the household and if to an appreciable extent they contribute to the family well-being.

The labors of the head of the family are subdivided according to his principal and his secondary work. The profession of the worker generally gives rise to the principal income of the home and determines in general the physical and moral condition of the family.

It is important to mention the mode of remuneration and the relations between the worker and his employer with regard to the principal labor. These two factors, which characterize the industrial organization and the rank which the family occupies in it, are indicated under different forms and from different points of view in the title, in the preliminary observations, and finally in the budget of receipts of each monograph. Whether the labor of the European worker has been performed for a lord, an employer, the head of an industry, the family itself, or for the family and the employer in common, is likewise indicated in each monograph. The nature of the labor is also indicated in the same passages.

The secondary labors of the head of the family are ordinarily performed for the family but sometimes for the employer as well. They have as their purpose the exploitation of property owned outright or received by subsidy, the exercise of the rights of partial use, and the carrying on of domestic industries. The nature of these labors is indicated sufficiently by the details already presented upon the different sources of receipts. They sometimes comprise occupations which women do in other regions. In Turkey the men are charged with the upkeep of the linen and clothing; in England they purchase the major part of the food for the home.

The new industrial régime which is located chiefly in western Europe and which seems to be invading the other regions little by little, in general tends to restrict the number and importance of the secondary labors through increasing specialization and commercialization. In the Orient most of the objects consumed

for the ordinary purposes are produced by home industries. In the Occident many families are entirely unskilled in the preparation or manufacture of a single one of these objects. Workers placed in these conditions purchase all their needs. The single means of livelihood is the remuneration for a uniform kind of work repeated each day. In general, this work has as its object a single detail of a vast manufacture, the product of which, exported afar, is often not consumed at all by the worker who makes it. The statesman and the moralist cannot give too much thought to the exclusive specialization of the industrial worker. We cannot consider this as progress. Several studies show that the advantages which belong to specialization, if carried beyond certain limits, exert a harmful influence upon the physical well-being and the intellectual and moral development of the worker.

Several monographs reveal the remarkable variety of labor existing in Europe. Compare, for instance, the Russian peasant and worker with the Genevan industrialized laborer.

Almost everywhere housework is the principal occupation of the mother of the family. This includes the preparation and cooking of food, the care of little children, the laundering, the upkeep of linen and clothing, the cleaning of the house and furniture, and the necessary care of the sick. Where the organization of work has due regard to the physical and moral condition of women, the mothers do chiefly house or domestic work.

The mother of the family also participates in most of the secondary activities undertaken on behalf of the family. Several of these activities are especially hers during those moments of leisure left her from the cares of the household. She assists the husband or the children in most of the work related to the exploitation of usufruct or partial property. Exceptions are the care of horses and other draft animals, hunting, and fishing. On the contrary, the gathering of wild fruits and the care of domestic animals kept for the needs of the family, notably the cows, pigs, and poultry, are generally her exclusive duties. Almost all the work related to household manufacture of clothing, is hers. Sometimes the mother, with the help of her children, prepares

and spins the textile materials. She does the sewing and knitting. Often she manufactures the cloth for the household, although in several countries this, as well as felt making, is the specialty of the men. These activities do not always have domestic consumption as their sole object. Sometimes the products are marketed. In many domestic factories these activities often bring the principal income to the family. Secondary activities of the women also include the manufacture of lace, lingerie, and embroidery, as well as the duties of laundering and nursing. In certain localities women also work at community ovens or bake shops. Too often the woman is engaged in work which is not suitable either to her character or to her physical constitution. Illustrations are carting, boating, public sweeping, and the transportation of heavy loads on her back.

In the Orient the domestic régime of the large family households lightens the burden of housework for young mothers. Through a division of labor, each in her turn does housework but gives the major part of her time to other productive labor.

Since the Industrial Revolution in western Europe, a change in the occupations of women and girls has developed. They are employed more in large shops, in textile factories, and in other industries which, under the former European régime, were performed in the home. Sometimes they work in the mines, a type of labor new to their sex. When the women of manufacturing districts engage in these occupations, they lose their domestic habits. Family life is harmed by the habitual absence of the mother from the house. The woman thus becomes an emulator or rival of the man.

The condition of women in each social organization deserves careful study. A famous physician maintains that the hygienic and working habits of women influence the physical condition of a race. He thinks that society should know of the occupations harmful to the health of potential mothers, that it is not only a question of humanity but also of public economy. The English government has considered this question and taken public action in a number of cases.

The example given by England may be followed by other industrial peoples. The analysis of the labor of women made here demonstrates the urgency of reform. The basis of the condition of the working classes is their home life. Human dignity often resists official investigation. Nevertheless, the government cannot abstain from investigating some characteristics of the manufacturing régime where these become permanent causes of family disorder. Local authorities and the heads of industries often can penetrate into these domains when governments cannot.

Among the public regulations which have unfortunate influences on the social condition of woman, we must mention obstacles placed against marriage. The laws of England authorize the poor law administrators to deny family life to those on relief even if their poverty is only accidental and temporary. In German cities marriage is forbidden to the poor and even to young workers in several industrial corporations.

Such influences are not found in the public institutions of France. France is accused of having endangered the moral and material progress of its working population through the spread of doctrines hostile to religion and the family. But here at least one does not find the restrictions on marriage just mentioned. The comparative study of European nations shows that the women of France are intimately associated with the work and the thought of the husbands and therefore exercise a desirable and guiding influence on the family. The same is found to an important degree in parts of northern Germany and in Scandinavia.

The children often help in the work and thus contribute to the family income. As children, they assist the mother. Often they help in the gleaning, in the gathering of fruit, and in the care of animals sent to pasture. Among agricultural populations children generally begin their occupational careers as laborers for neighboring proprietors. During this first period their salary often goes to the family, which then has the responsibility of the expenses of the children. Elsewhere, the young themselves dispose of their salary and must accumulate from their earnings before

marriage the sums necessary for the acquisition of clothing, furniture, and domestic animals.

Among the Slavs, where the community of family interest is ordinarily maintained even after the marriage of several sons, it is wise to analyze the work of the adult children separately. For the peoples of the Occident, on the contrary, the receipts can be simplified by indicating briefly the nature and the products of the work of the children in a summary manner.

In eastern Europe and in all the localities where ancient customs are maintained, children are not compelled to perform regular work until they reach puberty. Before puberty they choose among the occupations of the family those which have the character of recreation or pleasure. They always develop the kind of liberty which suits their age. Under the influence of the new manufacturing régime contrary practices tend to prevail more and more. The machines take over functions formerly performed by adult workers. For the sake of economy the machines are often run by women and young children. The new methods of manufacture therefore often impose an intolerable monotony in their work. In the north and east children are seldom employed, even as an exception, in work such as is habitually imposed upon them in Great Britain. Many moralists, while understanding the importance of the new manufacturing régime, have often pointed out its evil side. They have noticed that this organization, essentially founded upon the exercise of free will, is imposing an odious slavery upon the most feeble and the most innocent part of humanity. Statesmen of Great Britain have condemned these deplorable customs of the new régime. In spite of the principle of *laissez-faire* which constitutes the economic religion of the country, they have adopted former European traditions in this matter. They have placed the factories under a system of regulation which assures more satisfactory conditions to the women and children. The same system has been adopted by other nations of the Occident.

After having determined the nature of the work performed, further questions arise concerning the number of days given to

each kind of work, the daily pay, and the total work income. The determination of this is not so difficult for servants and day laborers as it is for the workers of the higher categories. There is always a certain amount of uncertainty relative to many types of secondary labor. When the analogous labor is not the object of a special remuneration in the locality, we are often confronted with the difficulty of finding a basis of value for the work. It is solved by estimating first, the value of the receipts, and second, all the expenditures imposed on the family by the work in question. The difference represents the profit of the industry, the salary due for that work, and sometimes the part attributed to the subsidy or the property which shared in the work. The value attributed to each partial element is determined sometimes by direct means, sometimes by estimates, and sometimes by differences when the value of the other elements are known. No error can affect the final result. They make only unimportant variations in the relative values attributed to the partial totals of the four subdivisions of the income.

The occupations exclusively related to the service of the various members of the family are not included among productive labor. Housework particularly is in this category. The time which they absorb is evaluated but no value could be attributed to it. In rare exceptions this rule is broken for good reasons.

The reporting of the time devoted to each kind of work, while simpler in general than that of values, is nevertheless difficult. After several experiments the following method has been adopted. It has the double advantage of being in harmony with customs and of expressing the facts simply. The work performed has been recorded as days of labor. The length of the day varies from ten to twelve hours for effective work and is determined in each case by the nature of the occupation and local habits. Sometimes the duration of the labor performed is determined by the accounting adopted for evaluating the kind of work. The work of the women, however, requires deeper study. It is often necessary to spend several days in a home in order to appreciate exactly the time given by the woman to her numerous occupations.

The housework ordinarily absorbs from two to six hours per day, or from sixty to one hundred and eighty twelve-hour days per year. The variations depend in general upon the condition of a family. The time devoted to housework increases as the woman gives more effort to the preparation of wholesome food and to cleaning the house and the clothing. This time decreases as the woman practices mechanical or industrial arts. This detail, however humble it may at first appear, has, then, a great importance in that it introduces the observer to an intimate knowledge of the class engaged in manual labor.

THE BENEFITS FROM HOME INDUSTRIES

The labor performed by the members of a family comprises industries which the family undertakes for itself. The profit produced by home industries is intimately related to the salary and the income from property. A serious study of a few types of workers soon reveals the important rôle played in the social economy of Europe by the home industries undertaken by the workers. This importance is still greater from the social point of view than from the economic. These industries constitute "an apprenticeship to property." They teach the worker to save, and to resist immediate profit for the sake of more remote advantages. The whole family is thus initiated into the virtues of thrift and elevated by sobriety above the lower types of human nature. In the second place, home industries give varied receipts which are a source of ease and comfort independent of commercial or industrial crises and other events which may endanger salaries. They enable the weakest parts of the family, that is the women, the young children and the aged, to contribute as much as the worker to the common well-being. They therefore present to a high degree some of the advantages of security which pertain either to subsidies or to certain modern forms of industry which operate largely in the interest of the long-time well-being of the workers. They do not decrease the independence of the family and deprive the women and the children of the privilege of

remaining in the home. Finally, they develop intelligence and manual skill in the various members of the family; they stimulate each to try to improve certain small operations of a technological, commercial, and agricultural nature.

The industries undertaken for the family have varying importance according to the social organization of the country and the rank which the worker occupies in the economic hierarchy. From one place to another pronounced differences are observed with regard to this kind of work. The plan of the budget has been outlined in such a way that these various peculiarities figure in the greatest possible detail.

In general, for a given social organization the number and importance of domestic industries increase as the worker rises higher in the scale separating the servant from the proprietor-worker.

In the west the servant is often obliged to maintain a state of celibacy and cannot engage in work not directly related to the service of his employer. However, there exist certain exceptions to this rule which are related to the most characteristic details of the social organization. These exceptions appear especially in the countries where the condition of the servant-worker is essentially temporary, where it is only a stage in the apprenticeship to a profession, or where the worker is securing for himself, through savings, the means of becoming in his turn the head of a family and of raising himself to a higher condition.

The day-laborers often secure large resources by the exploitation of domestic animals, by the cultivation of vegetables and fruit, by working with textile materials, and, in general, by industries which require only a small capital and simple materials. Several among them even begin to speculate as entrepreneurs in side lines of the principal work performed for the head of the industry. Thus, for example, instead of receiving the tools from the employer, as do most salaried people, they furnish the tools themselves. They receive by this a supplement to the salary which may become rather considerable. The portion of this supplement which exceeds the interest and deterioration of the capital invested

is a real profit from industry. This kind of profit is common among the day-laborers who gather their own hay or cereals or do terracing.

The piece workers generally develop industries undertaken for the exclusive benefit of the family more than do the day-laborers. They owe this superiority to three principal causes: they are more active and more intelligent; they have more extensive resources at their disposal; they are freer to adapt the employment of their time to their personal convenience. They undertake home industries on a larger scale than the day-laborer and they also carry the spirit of speculation further. They introduce a multitude of ingenious combinations in the employment of their time and in the procedure of their work. They succeed in performing more work than an ordinary laborer and in consequence obtain a larger remuneration. The excess of their salary over that of day-laborers must be considered as the profit of an industry belonging to the piece workers. This presents three advantages: it assures a better employment of time; it gives rise to methods of work which are more perfect and rapid; it protects the chief of the industry from labor losses by passing part of the responsibility to the worker. The piece worker often undertakes on his own account the furnishing of the tools, shops, and raw materials for the work. In consideration of a system of premiums or fines according to the quality of the products manufactured, the piece worker sometimes agrees to be responsible for the risks of defective manufacture. Finally, rising still nearer to the condition of an overseer, certain piece workers hire assistants and apprentices on their own accounts. In the very complex speculation which this contract implies, the piece worker ordinarily realizes a certain profit after having met all expenses.

It has been thought best to separate the two elements of the remuneration received by the day-laborer and the piece worker for their principal work. We have entered into the budget of receipts the part of this remuneration which does not have the character of a speculation or of a home industry. This is the pay received by a day-laborer for performing the same kind of work and

furnishing only his time. The remainder goes under the head of the various industries undertaken by the family on its own account. As these distinctions are not always established in practice, we have taken care to give a total of these two elements of the daily remuneration of the piece workers.

The workers, such as tenants, heads of trades, or proprietors, engage in a principal branch of industry on their own account or in common with the employer. These industries are the same as the accessory industries which may be undertaken either by the worker himself or by his wife and children.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING RECEIPTS

Distinctions need to be established between values in money and values in kind.

The workers receive income in two different forms. In the rural districts of the extreme Orient work is remunerated in great part by means of goods for family consumption. The budget therefore is constituted principally of values in kind. On the contrary, in the suburbs and in the cities the values are represented mostly by money. Few European families were observed which did not have incomes in both values (money and goods). In consequence two columns are used to record receipts and expenditures. The comparison of the partial totals of these columns presents an interesting indication concerning the economic organization of the family. The amounts to be entered in the column entitled "value of objects received in kind" present no difficulty when the objects and the services received are consumed directly by the family; but it is otherwise when the family employs them in its industries and transforms them further by work or exchange.

When the worker receives a quantity of wheat of the value of ten francs as remuneration and this is consumed by his household, this receipt is carried in the column entitled "value of objects received in kind." It is balanced in the expenditures by an equal sum carried into the column entitled "value of objects consumed

in kind." On the other hand if the worker receives the profits of an orchard having a rental value of ten francs which he realizes in money by the sale of the fruit; and if, finally, he applies this money to the purchase of ten francs worth of wheat; we necessarily enter this expenditure in the column entitled "expenditure in money." However, it may be handled in two ways in the receipts. It may be considered that the benefits of an orchard are only a means of arriving at the receipt of ten francs in money. By setting aside the commercial operations engaged in by the family, we may enter the value of the object or rather of the usufruct received in kind in the column entitled "receipts in money." The advantage of this procedure consists in establishing an exact balance, not only between the totals of incomes and expenditures, but also between the partial totals of the two columns "receipt in money" and "receipts in kind." Or we may enter the fact as it is without taking account of the operations which the family undertakes between the first receipt and the final expenditure. We then enter the receipt of ten francs as an object received in kind. According to this practice, there will always be an exact balance between the receipts and expenditures; but the partial columns ("in money" and "in kind") will no longer be balanced. A receipt in kind of ten francs will be balanced only by an expenditure in money of an equal sum. We have definitely adopted the first system in the monographs on European workers. Money balances against money and kind against kind. This system reduces the chances of error in the calculations by simplifying the method of verification.

The average annual accounts of the family studied generally amount to total sums in excess of one thousand francs. Sums are always carried out to pennies. It may be thought that the authors of the monographs flatter themselves in being able to present evaluations which are completely reliable. These documents appear to present a degree of exactness which nevertheless can not be really reached by this kind of research.

The objects consumed by the family, even by those who had

the most regular existence, undergo such variations from year to year with regard to quantity and price that when it is a question of important sums it would appear foolish to pretend to evaluate them by taking account of the pennies. It would seem to be wiser to add only round numbers in francs. This principle has been followed in the monographs. However, another and more essential principle has not always permitted the free use of round sums. It is often useful, in fact, to estimate the quantity and the average price of certain objects at the total value of the objects consumed. It then becomes necessary to establish a rigorous relationship between these three figures (quantity \times price = total value) and we thus find ourselves brought to apply an exaggerated precision that we first tried to avoid.

Thus, for example, if the study demonstrates that the family consumes a quantity of salt varying according to the year from twenty to twenty-six kilograms; if moreover the study reveals that this substance is bought at the invariable price of 27 centimes, we shall have to evaluate the average annual consumption at a weight of 23 kilograms, costing 6 francs, 21 centimes. If, in order to satisfy the "round number" principle, we reduce this figure to the round sum of six francs, which in reality is not less exact, we should necessarily evaluate the weight consumed at 22 2/10 kilo. We thus fall back upon the disadvantage of using a complicated figure which is no more exact than the first mentioned. If, however, in order to avoid this difficulty we decide to eliminate the evaluation of quantities, we could not avoid the evaluations in pennies for the numerous articles whose value is less than one franc. The total of the budgets therefore reproduces the evaluations in pennies, unless we decide to eliminate, with the mention of these small sums, a large number of useful and even characteristic facts. To sum up: ripe reflection and long practice have led us to give the values, as observation itself gives them, by submitting to the disadvantages, in reality very slight, which are entailed in giving the exact amounts. The reader is sufficiently warned that he must attribute no importance

to the pennies which are entered in the budget after large figures. His good judgment will easily enable him to discern the cases where the values in pennies are really in accord with the exact observations.

CHAPTER XXVII

Food and Shelter

The classification and subdivision of expenses bring out the physical and moral condition of each family, and facilitate comparisons among the workers. They should indicate both the means and the methods of existence of the family, and give a budget of receipts. The use of all the receipts in goods, services, or money should be specified. With the exception of the savings realized during the year under consideration, an exact balance should exist not only between the general totals but also between the partial totals of each subheading.

The receipts of a family are dependent upon the condition of the workman, the nature of the work, and the organization of society. These conditions of existence vary a great deal according to locality. It was necessary, therefore, in the preceding chapter to present some rather extended evidence in order to justify the form given to the budget of receipts. The expenses, on the contrary, are the result of needs that derive from the very nature of men. They differ according to locality, a fact which the study must indicate in detail. However, they are all related to a few fundamental needs which inevitably determine the principal subdivisions of the expense budget. It is sufficient only to mention them to enable one to recognize their importance.

The first three sections are concerned with the imperative physical needs; food, housing, and clothing. The fourth section comprises the expenses relative to moral needs, recreation, and health service. The fifth and last section groups together the correlated expenses which consist of those for domestic industries, debts, taxes, and insurance. This statement sufficiently characterizes the five parts of the budget.

Food

It is difficult, in the present state of science, to establish a classification of the foods used by European workers. However, an attempt was made to determine the types of foods substituted for one another in the different localities, in order to group them in the appropriate class. A further attempt was made to discern the different nutritional rôles played by these groups of foods. The conditions of simplicity necessary in a study of this kind led us to divide the foodstuffs into seven principal categories: cereals, fats, milk and eggs, meats and fish, vegetables and fruits, condiments and stimulants, and fermented beverages.

Cereals

Cereals include a series of grains furnished by certain cultivated annual plants. These grains, which are non-perishable, form the principal food of farming peoples. They consist chiefly of a very nutritive starch covered with a ligneous envelope. The covering may be made into bran by means of various processes. Except in certain rather rare cases the cereals must be placed in the first rank of European foods. The quantities consumed exceed other categories of foods in weight. When necessity requires the simplification of the food régime, the cereals increase their predominance, even absorbing as much as half of all expenditures. As comfort increases, the other foods, especially fats, meats, and fermented beverages, assume a greater rôle. Thus, in certain cases the relation of the expense for cereals to the total expense of the family is reduced to one-eighth.

The nature of the grain, or the mixture of grains, which forms the foundation of European food is one of the most important details of domestic life and of agriculture. Each kind of grain is designated in every language by a different term. The word "grain" (*blé* in French) is the best equivalent of all these terms and will be used according to locality to designate wheat, rye, barley, oats, rice, millet, buckwheat, corn, or the mixtures of these grains used as daily food.

The nature of the grain used varies according to the country. The nature of the soil and of the climate, and the degree of comfort of the most numerous class are important causes of this diversity. In this regard we find three parallel zones in Europe which extend from the southwest to the northeast, from the Atlantic to the Ural mountains. The northern zone, comprising the islands of the Arctic Ocean, Scotland, Jutland, Norway, most of Sweden, Finland, the north of Russia and the Ural Mountains to the 59th degree, has oats for its grain (*Avena sativa*, L.). The southern zone, comprising the three peninsulas, southern France, Carniola, the plains of Turkey and the principalities of the Danube, Hungary and the southern coast of Crimea, use corn (*Zea mays*, L.) and wheat (*Triticum sativum*, L.). Finally, the center or intermediate zone uses rye (*Secale cereale*, L.), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*, L.), and wheat, cultivated together or separately, and occasionally mixed with oats toward the north, and corn toward the south. To these principal species are joined a few grains which constitute important foods in other parts of the world, such as rice (*Oriza sativa*, L.), millet (*Panicum miliaceum*, L.), and buckwheat (*Polygonum fagopyrum*, L.), but which are used in a rather restricted number of localities in Europe.

The methods of preparing and cooking the cereals merit special mention. Populations generally preserve custom with remarkable obstinacy. Perfection in cooking is an index of the degree of improvement given to the useful arts. It also often indicates the place of origin of migratory populations.

Rarely do Europeans cook grain in the unhusked kernel. Often it is broken into small fragments called gruel or converted into a fine powder called flour. In Africa and Asia the husking, the crushing, or the grinding of the grain forms a domestic industry. In Europe, on the other hand, this custom has become rare. Mechanical mills driven by air or water are generally used for this purpose in Europe, saving the people an immense amount of manual labor. Flour, either with or without the bran, is prepared by three principal methods. One is to mix the flour

with water and diverse ingredients and leave the mixture to ferment spontaneously. The gases which develop make the mass porous. The resulting paste or dough is cooked at a high temperature until it acquires a consistency always solid, sometimes hard; it is then called "bread." The foodstuffs called "bread" differ greatly from place to place. Bread makes up the largest part of the food in France. It is also very common in England, in lower Scotland, in Spain, in northern Germany, and in Scandinavia. Sometimes the bread is consumed in its solid state garnished with various foods, and at others it is softened in soups and other liquids.

The making of bread and the preparing of the various foods are generally the tasks of the housewife when she gives all of her time to domestic labor. They are among the first occupations that she gives up as soon as, adopting the customs of the west, she secures employment outside of the home. Among the grouped populations far from the coal basins the high price of fuel makes the cooking of bread very expensive unless it is practiced on a large scale. It is also difficult when space does not permit an oven for each house. In this case, bread-making is entrusted to special artisans or corporations.

A second method of consuming grain flour consists of making it into semi-solid pastes called noodles, knotes, etc., depending on the forms into which it is molded. This food is consumed as a bread in soup or seasoned by means of various ingredients. Often it is subjected to a second cooking in fat. Noodles (for the sake of simplicity this name is used for every preparation of this nature) are used among some Slavic and German peoples. Sometimes they are used to the exclusion of every other preparation of grains. The conversion of flour into noodles is a domestic occupation which does not ordinarily constitute a special trade, as does baking. It does not require a long time and much fuel as does the manufacture of bread, but it is repeated each day, sometimes before each meal. The preparation of noodles is more time-consuming than that of bread. This manner of using cereals has few advantages where the housewife finds lucrative employment

of her spare moments. In Italy is prepared a paste called vermicelli, somewhat similar except that it is dried and divided. The cooking of this food requires less time than that of noodles. This preparation is beginning to be used in several countries of the west but vermicelli is a somewhat less economical food than bread.

Cereal flour is also prepared by diluting it with milk or water after seasoning, and by cooking the mixture into a batter or pancake. Sometimes, after subjecting the batter to a preliminary cooking which reduces it to a thick paste, the preparation is cut into fragments and fried in fat. In a great part of Europe batter or mush is the principal food of children. It also forms the basic food of the poor among the French Bretons and the Spanish Basques. This mode of preparation is preferred by the peoples which live chiefly upon corn and buckwheat. Certain workmen of Italy make corn and wheat flour into a thick batter called *polenta*, which is almost their only food.

There are various methods of preparing and cooking hulled or broken grain. They are more economical than methods depending upon flour. Hulled rice as well as the gruels of barley and millet are in use in southern Europe and in the warm regions of other countries. No populations living almost entirely on rice were found in Europe.

The expense account for cereals should indicate whether they are consumed as bread, noodles, batter, gruels, or hulled kernels, in order that the time given to the preparation of the food may be determined.

Fats

Fat, and especially animal fat, appears to be the indispensable seasoning of cereals. It is the only product used consistently with cereals when all other foods are lacking.

In the north, near the shores of the Arctic, the people use the fats of fishes, aquatic birds, and a few land animals. Butter, extracted from the milk of cows, is used below sixty degrees north

latitude. It predominates in the plains of the central zone, but is often replaced by sheep butter in the mountains. In this central zone the fats of cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry, and various kinds of birds are used with butter. In the southern zone the high temperature interferes with the preservation and transportation of butter during the greater part of the year. Furthermore, the country has good pastures only in high altitudes and is generally unsuited for the production of milk during part of each year. In order to secure under these conditions the daily supply of fat, the milk of cows, goats, and sheep is converted into cheese. Cheese may be considered a preparation of butter solidified by a mixture of caseous substance, by fermentation, and by desiccation. In the south of Europe this valuable food is the means of securing daily use of dairy products, which can be produced only in certain places and in certain seasons. The populations of northern Italy prepare a simple and rich food by mixing cheese and corn meal. In this same zone butter is often replaced by those animal fats used in the central zone, especially lard from pork. In the temperate regions of Europe where milk is produced in abundance, notably in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, and England, a great quantity of the milk is converted into cheese. This spreads the consumption of fat over the entire year, whereas production is greatest in the spring and autumn. It creates a food which furnishes the poor classes the most economical means of mingling two indispensable food elements: cereals and fats.

Vegetable oils play a varied rôle in foods. They serve as equivalents for rather different substances, but chiefly as replacements for animal fats. They are used for this in the region contiguous to the Mediterranean. Olive oil in particular is there considered a food of the first order. No population was found which lived exclusively on cereals and oils, although in the temperate regions of Europe many add no other fat than butter to cereals. In every case observed, the use of olive oil, which is the most substantial of all vegetable fats, was supplemented among the most frugal workmen by a certain quantity of animal fats. Olive oil is used only in the olive tree region. It is replaced else-

where by other equivalents: in central Europe by oils extracted from cruciferous plants or from the fruits of the beech and nut trees; in northern and eastern Europe by the oils of sesame, flax, hemp, and poppy.

Meats and Fish

The physiologists of the west point out the wholesome influences which the use of meat exercises upon the physical condition of populations. Observation, however, shows that this food is absent entirely from the menus of certain categories of workmen who are endowed with vigor and energy, whereas none have been found who abstain permanently from the use of fats or milk. In many cases where meat is used regularly in small quantities, it acts principally through the fat which it contains. In many agricultural districts of France, Italy, and Spain, the populations eat meat only once a year, on the day of the patron saint. This régime is not always imposed by habitual poverty; it is also observed even among workers who enjoy a high level of comfort.

Beef is primary in the food of the masses only in Russia, Scandinavia, Hungary, England, and lower Scotland. In other parts of the British Isles and on the continent this meat enters into the diet only on special occasions; for example, when an animal has been killed accidentally. Veal, on the other hand, is used freely in all parts of the central zone of the continent where the cow is raised for milk production. Horsemeat is habitually used among a few nomads of eastern Europe and in regions contiguous to Asia. The meats most usually consumed by European workmen are those of the sheep, the goat, and especially the pig. Variously prepared in the wooded regions of the north and east, game constitutes an essential element of workmen's food. This is also true with regard to poultry, particularly in Hungary and in Béarn (a section in the lower Pyrenees on the Spanish border).

Fish and the other natural products of the maritime zones furnish food in abundance to the shore populations of the North Sea and the Baltic. Salmon are caught in immense quantities from

the streams that empty their waters into these seas. In certain zones a considerable quantity of this food is consumed, not because the populations prefer it, but because they find it to be very economical. The abundance or the scarcity of fish often exercises a preponderant influence upon the cost of labor and upon the well-being of workmen. In this regard, several littoral zones of England, when compared with the central European zone, present remarkable differences. The sea fish in all the maritime zones, the salmon in the streams of the British Isles, northern Germany, Denmark, and especially Scandinavia, and the sturgeon in the cold streams of Russia afford resources to the shore populations which in certain periods are almost unlimited. In this respect Europe is one of the regions most favored by nature. There are few countries which are very remote from the sea, and their proximity to it assures them of immense quantities of food at little cost. An observer who studies methodically the maritime zones will find that stable elements of the population could be increased in many regions by expanding the excellent populations of coast fishermen.

Vegetables and Fruits

Vegetables, considered in relation to their abundance and their use in the food of man, form eight principal groups: the tubers, the dry farinaceous vegetables, cooked green vegetables, vegetables eaten raw, salads, mushrooms, spice vegetables, and cucurbitaceous (melons, pumpkins) which form the link between the vegetable and fruits. In nearly every region each of these groups is represented by some special product.

The potato, which is the chief tuber cultivated in Europe, has become a principal element of food in several regions. The most varied opinions have been given as to the results of the introduction of this vegetable, which dates from about the beginning of this century. Eminent physiologists consider the extensive substitution of the potato for cereals by populations that are poorly provided with animal food an error of diet and a sort of public calamity. Observations seem to indicate that this substitution

entails a diminution of muscular strength and energy. No workman whose principal food consists of the potato is able to perform labors that are comparable with those performed by the Bergomese blacksmith whose food is principally corn. Nowhere has the potato been substituted completely for cereals. England and lower Scotland seem to be countries where the most intelligent use is made of the potato. Here workmen obtain a good diet by combining meats and fermented beverages with a basic diet of potatoes.

The dry farinaceous vegetables, peas of all kinds, beans, and lentils are cultivated especially on the shores of Europe and in the regions adjacent to the central zone. In France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, where these are used on a large scale, they replace certain amounts of cereals without noticeable disadvantage. The cultivation of these vegetables may be combined advantageously with that of wheat and corn, both to increase and vary the food resources of the southern zone. The well-to-do workmen of the northern zone often choose as a special dish starchy vegetables which have been imported from regions with a milder climate. To sum up, these vegetables as well as the potato, when used in moderate proportions, introduce a useful variety into the food. They reduce the consumption of cereals without doing any damage to the populations. However, they cannot replace cereals completely. The use of cereals independently of these two vegetables results in no absence of essential qualities in food.

On no occasion has a food system been observed in Europe in which cooked green vegetables are completely lacking. Observations made in the course of long voyages on the sea and during prolonged sojourns in polar regions prove that a too prolonged deprivation of these products exerts an unfavorable influence upon health. These vegetables constitute a more imperative need than does meat. In Europe, with the exception of the southern zone, cabbages form the principal subdivision of this group; they are the European vegetable *par excellence*. They grow satisfactorily even in a very high latitude, for example in the mining districts of the Ural mountains north of the 58th degree. It is the last important vegetable that man secures from the ground as he

nears the polar regions. In northern zones, the harvesting of cabbages is the occasion of one of the most popular festivals. The process of conserving cabbages in those regions where winters are long (northern Germany, Denmark, Scandinavia, and northern Russia), forms one of the most important details of domestic economy.

After cabbages we may mention, in the same category, starchy vegetables eaten raw, with or without their pods; spinach and most of the vegetables that belong to the salad group have a second use in this form.

The root vegetables, carrots, turnips, viper-grass, beets, etc., do not have that delicate flavor which makes them desired except in the warm or temperate regions of Europe. Their particular rôle seems to be to increase the volume of the food and to stimulate digestion without exciting the stomach too much. They contribute also to the seasoning of foods. Children and women use them, especially even when the climate prevents the complete development of the vegetables.

Spice vegetables are represented in all the food systems of Europe. They are used both as a seasoning and as a stimulant. Pimento, onion, and garlic are most used. In several countries of the warm regions they are exceedingly popular. Various kinds of radishes, turnips, and horseradish are relished almost everywhere, even in the cold regions of Europe. To this group belong also sorrel, many aromatic herbs, and the leaves of several umbelliferous plants, fennel, parsley, and chervil.

Salads, that is to say vegetables with tender leaves which are eaten raw, occupy a place of increasing importance in food as we near the southern regions, where the art of vegetable gardening has been most highly developed. Even in the most northerly regions, however, the population eagerly seeks delicate vegetables to be eaten raw. Several vegetables belonging to the other groups are eaten raw as salads. This habit is more common and more widely practiced where the climate is warmer. The spice vegetables particularly belong in this category.

In a few countries of the west and the east, mushrooms are

almost unknown to the working population. They are even treated as poisonous substances. However, there scarcely exists any large region in Europe where they are not used as food, but it is only in the northern region that they can be considered of primary importance. In Russia, where vegetable foods are relatively rare, they are sought as a dish both tasty and digestible. They are also used successfully with all kinds of meats. The populations of the Ural mountains gather them in large quantities in their forests for consumption during the long winters.

The last group, which forms the link between vegetables and fruit, is represented in Europe by half a dozen species and many varieties, the number of which increases with the warmth of the climate. The most appreciated of all is the ordinary cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*, L.) which with few exceptions is developed in the polar region as well as in the southern zone. In all of Europe, but especially in the north, the people eat many cucumber pickles. The pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*, L.) is a very useful food in the central zone. The other species, the melon (*Cucumis melo*, L.), the gourd (*Cucubita pepo*, L.), the watermelon (*Cucurbita anguria*, L.), form part of the food of the working classes only in the southern region. Quantities of these cucurbitaceæ grow almost without cultivation. They are consumed in large quantities especially in the valley of the Don and in southern Russia, in Hungary, European Turkey, Greece, Italy, southern France, and the Iberian peninsula.

Fruits do not have the same importance as vegetables in the diet of man. Taken in moderate quantities, they are valuable for health, but in most cases they are considered luxuries rather than indispensable items of diet. Many fruits come from trees, bushes, and subligneous plants that grow almost without cultivation. Often only a slight effort of will and foresight is required to obtain them. It is therefore regrettable to see some populations in the most beautiful climates of Europe entirely deprived of these foods which require the least effort to cultivate. The production of fruit is an excellent measure of the intelligence, habits of labor, and pursuit of comfort among the southern peoples. European

fruits are divided into two groups: one characteristic of the south and the other of the north. The quantity of the characteristic fruit of each zone decreases as one nears the opposite zone. The fruits of the south in order of importance are grapes, olives, chestnuts, apples, pears, prunes, walnuts, oranges and lemons, cherries, apricots, almonds, figs, dates, sorbs, the tree-bean, medlars, hazelnuts, acorns, and sweet pines. Some, like the olive, orange and lemon, date, and sweet acorn, are peculiar to the warmest regions of Europe. Others, like the grape, chestnut, walnut, peach, apricot, almond, and fig, penetrate more or less into the temperate region without loss of quality. Several, such as the apple, pear, prune, and cherry find their most complete development only in the temperate region and disappear little by little as one nears the southern zone. The hazelnut which persists farthest north, does not bear fruit beyond the 55th degree. The Cembro pine (*Pinus cembra*, L.) bears a fruit which is eagerly sought by the populations of the Ural forests in the region of the 60th degree north latitude.

Some of these fruits possess all their qualities in a wild state, but most reach perfection only after grafting or cultivation. In general the production of fruits for the household requires less labor than that of vegetables and cereals. Those which occupy an important place in diet may be divided into two classes: farinaceous fruits (chestnuts, almonds, and other nuts) and those with seeds and stones (apples, raisins, and prunes). Among the first, the chestnut is an essential food for large groups of people. Many in France, Spain, Piedmont, and Corsica live half of the year almost exclusively upon these by mixing the nuts with a fat. The chestnut is the only product widely used as a substitute for cereals in the European diet system. Apples furnish cider to the maritime populations in the south of England, Normandy, Marne, Brittany, the Biscay region, and in several contiguous localities which have a suitable climate owing to the influence of the Gulf Stream.

The fruits of the north are chiefly berries. They grow naturally in an abundance known only to those who have traveled

over the northern countries during the month of July. They come either from herbaceous or woody shrubs, or from small bushes growing upon marshy land, in forest clearings, and even upon surfaces where the forest vegetation is highly developed. Those which contribute most to the food of the populations or which serve as pasture for many wild animals belong to the vine species (*Rubus*, L.), strawberry (*Fragaria*, L.), and bilberry (*Vaccinium*, L.). They comprise at least ten alimentary species. The only limit to the harvest is the human labor employed in it. They are of very great importance to the metal workers, hunters, and fishermen of northern Russia, Finland, and Scandinavia. These fruits are eaten raw, alone or with milk, or cooked, seasoned or unseasoned. Conserves are made by applying honey, sugar, or spirits to them. During the long winters these introduce an agreeable variety into the diet.

There are a number of reasons for the decrease in natural growth of berries as one moves south. Several species, such as the *Rubus arcticus*, L. which is found only in Russia and in Scandinavia at about the 59th degree of latitude, cannot grow in a temperate region. The miry soil and the shelter of resinous trees which are necessary for their spontaneous development disappear little by little on account of the climate or the progress of cultivation as one journeys southward. Finally, such species as the strawberry (*Fragaria resca*, L.), raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*, L.), and blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*, L.), which find in most southern latitudes a more suitable soil and climate, are generally smothered by the thick growth of vegetation against which they do not have to struggle so much in the regions of the north.

On account of this natural abundance berries are not cultivated in the north. As one advances toward the south, the first fruits found in vegetable gardens are the three kinds of gooseberries (*Ribes grossularis*, *Rubrum*, *Nigrum*, L.) and the raspberry. Berries which come from herbaceous plants and which require care in cultivation are rarely grown by workmen for their own use.

Condiments and Stimulants

Condiments and stimulants comprise products not related to the preceding groups. They include six principal subdivisions: salt, spice, vinegar, sweet stuffs, beverages, and aromatic foods.

Sea salt is among the substances almost indispensable in human food. In Europe an insufficiency of salt, that is an annual consumption of less than four kilograms per adult, becomes a serious privation. When salt is not expensive the consumption usually rises far above that limit, particularly when families customarily prepare stores of salt meats, fish, vegetables, and mushrooms. In some localities considerable quantities of it are fed to the cattle.

Vinegar, although more dispensable than salt, is an important part of the food of all European peoples. It is obtained in many ways—by the fermentation of spirits, of sweet substances, or of cereals and their derivatives. Its manufacture constitutes a detail of almost all domestic economies. Its principal use is in the seasoning of salads. Quantities go into conserves and into the preparation of certain meat or vegetable dishes.

Spices, chiefly pepper, constitute a most general stimulant. In warm countries especially, pepper is regarded as indispensable. Only in very rare cases is it replaced completely by spice vegetables, such as onion, garlic, and pimentoes. Spices are about the only substances from remote countries entering daily into the food of most European workmen. As they are used in small quantities only, they are an insignificant expense.

Only small quantities of sugar are consumed by most workmen. Sugar is still unknown among certain rural populations. The manufacturing districts of England, lower Scotland, northern France, Belgium, and northern Germany, and the large cities elsewhere in Europe, are the chief localities where highly sweetened stuffs enter as a major component of foods. Raw sugar and molasses are used particularly in the central and western regions. In a few districts honey is used for sweetening. The culture of bees succeeds as well in the large resinous forests of Russia and Scandinavia as on the flowered plains and hills adjacent to the shores of the Azof, Black, and Mediterranean Seas.

The use of aromatic beverages is naturally closely related to that of sweetened stuffs. The most usual are tea and coffee. Tea and coffee are common beverages of the sugar-consuming workmen of Great Britain and the Netherlands. In several cities and in a few rural districts of Russia workmen also habitually use both. Except in these localities, coffee is the principal aromatic beverage, particularly in northern France, Belgium, the Netherlands, northern Germany, the cities of center and the west, and a few districts of Turkey. The use of these two beverages, introduced into Europe at a relatively recent date, is increasing rather rapidly. This applies especially to coffee. Many workmen of Flanders and northern Germany took up its consumption recently as a luxury or curiosity, but now, little by little, it is becoming an ordinary beverage even for rural populations.

The consumption of coffee has sometimes been mentioned as a measure of the degree of comfort of the working populations. However, if one compares the food system of families of the west which consume much coffee with that of families of the northwest where the use of aromatic beverages is largely unknown, it will be quickly seen that this method of measuring comfort is fallacious. Certain observers even think that the substitution of aromatic beverages for more substantial and less exciting food is regrettable from the standpoint of health. This statement applies especially to the workers employed in the textile and other rural and urban industries where aromatic beverages, such as tea and coffee, are substituted for equivalents of local origin made from the blossoms of the linden tree, chicory, and roasted carrots. Native "tea," made from several local plants, was common in Europe before the contemporary beverages were imported.

A special class of stimulants, such as betel¹ and tobacco, are called *masticatories*. They are derived from certain leafy plants and prepared with various other ingredients. They are chewed, thus stimulating an abundance of saliva, in which the nutritive part of the plant is dissolved. The use of these singular

¹ Betel is a chewing combination consisting of the areca palm nut, sera leaf (a pepper vine), lime, and other ingredients. It is astringent and invigorating. (Editors.)

products is popular in Europe only among certain classes of sailors. Certain masticatories appear to stimulate physical strength without injuring the health; such may be the case of *cauca*, used by Peruvian Indians who are porters in the Andes mountains.

Fermented Beverages

Fermented beverages are for the most part extracted from certain fruits. The most important are obtained from the spontaneous fermentation of the juices of the grape, the apple, or the pear. From the same beverages, by means of distillation, spirituous liquors rich in alcohol are obtained which, notwithstanding the diversity of origin, are designated under the generic name of alcoholic liquors,

In the north fermented beverages are rarely made from the abundant berries, although distilled liquor is sometimes extracted from them after fermentation. The fermented beverages of the north are chiefly beers made principally from cereals. The beverages thus obtained present a multitude of varieties according to the strength, the flavor, and the raw material used. They often differ greatly from the beverage known as beer in France.

Beers are a valuable food whose nutritive qualities and stimulating properties are greater than those of ordinary wines. Even in wine-producing countries beers play an essential part in the food of workers, especially among the founders and iron workers in Great Britain, northern Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia.

In northern countries where the climate does not permit the extraction of a beverage from the juices of fruits, the people prepare, along with beer, a third category of fermented beverages by means of sweets, spices, and aromatic substances (pepper, cinnamon, citron, mint, etc.). The use of hydromel (a beverage prepared with honey) is widely spread in certain districts of the British Empire. In Great Britain beverages prepared with cane sugar, called *pop*, *treacle*, or *beer*, according to the sweetened substances and the aromatics used, are very popular.

The shepherds of the east prepare with the milk of various

animals fermented beverages which possess remarkable qualities. Among those in use along the Asiatic frontier, we may mention especially *koumiss* prepared from the milk of the mare.

In every class of society in Europe some persons use fermented and distilled beverages frequently, others only occasionally as a luxury, and still others not at all. The question of their influence upon health has given rise to many controversies. The advocates of temperance not only contend that absolute prohibition is the only practical means of eliminating the evils which result from the immoderate use of fermented liquors but also maintain that even though taken in small quantities they injure the body and the mind. They compare the present brevity of human life with the longevity described in the Old Testament and attribute the difference to the use of spirits. A comparison of populations which abstain from spirituous beverages with those which use them habitually, even to excess, does not absolutely confirm this doctrine. Many observers think that a certain quantity of fermented beverages is indispensable for workmen whose trade demands a considerable expenditure of muscular strength. Metal workers who have to put forth great physical effort in intensive heat fall particularly into this category. However, great effort is not an absolute necessity and it obviously shortens the life of the workers. The question remains, therefore, undecided.

The working populations usually purchase fermented beverages only after having provided for their most pressing needs. It follows, therefore, that the habitual use or lack of them is one of the surest indications of the prosperity or penury of a family, except among rural populations. On the other hand, the regular use of fermented beverages or the excesses indulged in outside of the family give an index for determining the moral and intellectual level of the populations in the warm and temperate regions of Europe.

Food Consumed Away from Home

Workers are often obliged by the nature of their occupations to absent themselves temporarily from home. Sometimes they go

on periodic migrations for work. During these periods away from home they secure their food in special ways differing from those used in their own households. At times they carry with them a supply of cereals from their own districts. This is done by many migratory iron workers in Sweden as well as by the workers in the valleys of the Alps. Others purchase their food with a part of their salary. Still others obtain their principal foods, all or in part, as a part of the wages received from their temporary occupations. All of these practices should be specified in an investigation, for the simple reason that they are connected with specific types and systems of living.

HOUSING

Housing includes the securing and the upkeep of home and furniture, and the expenses of heating and lighting. When the real income of the family is established, it is found that lodging is one of its principal elements. It is the first need of the migratory laborer which the master satisfies in order to induce the worker to adopt a stable life. It is the last "good" abandoned by the self-sufficing laborer when for the first time he leaves his former system for the uncertainty of money income. In all cases the physical and moral conditions of the populations depend intimately upon the adequacy of their dwelling places. Satisfaction in housing among the workers contributes more than anything else to the development of their moral sentiments connected with property holding.

Viewing western society as it is, particularly the disorganized elements in the manufacturing regions, one scarcely sees one worker in ten who, upon coming into possession of a large sum of money, has sufficient judgment to preserve it intact or to use it wisely in the improvement of his living conditions. This remark applies as well to all societies and is one of the essential points necessary to keep in mind in planning the reform of the west. Radical movements to divide the wealth of Europe among the working families will have no other result than to see the major

part of this capital become dissipated by foolish consumption. The ability to earn money is one of the first but not the only requisite to its proper utilization. The temperance of the mores in the satisfaction of physical needs is a guide to the appropriate use of wealth. Strong societies are dominated by families which do not spend all their receipts for articles of contemporary consumption. Instead they use foresight and satisfy future needs by savings. Foolish and exaggerated ideas about philanthropy, by exciting insatiable appetites, bring about the degradation of members of the working class. They stop at once the slow march of moral development in appreciation of the value and necessity of work, of temperance, and of saving. Only false prophets claim to be able to get the people to the Promised Land without the long and painful march through the wilderness.

The observations made in my studies show that only about half of the European workers have reached a moral level sufficiently high so that the mores enable them to possess homesteads as free saleable property without detriment to themselves. Unfree property is so called because of certain restrictions concerning property rights enforced by patrons, institutions, and the mores. These constraints are necessary in order to preserve the women and the children from the natural improvidence and the moral imperfections of the heads of the families.

Many of the heads of the poorer families cannot resist the attraction of certain material pleasures when they have money. They spend the money for personal satisfactions at the expense of other needs. In many cases, in order to obtain money which they spend foolishly, they mortgage their fields or their homesteads or debase their living conditions. To this type we can contrast the Russian peasant or the miner of Hartz who finds his most agreeable form of recreation in ornamenting his dwelling and enlarging his homestead. This profound difference between the sentiments brought about by the possession of a homestead and those produced by property in money is due to certain fundamental inclinations of human nature. The societies of strong mores occupy themselves with work inspired by the interests of

the home and family. Simple populations offering examples of social peace have an unlimited devotion to their native hearths. This sentiment is developed little by little through daily contact with the parents, the religious images of the homestead, and the ancestral traditions. It is a form of domestic religion. The complicated and urbanized populations tend to lose this sentiment. In specific cases, where the religious and political leaders preserve the sentiments of the universal mores, they help to preserve this domestic religion among the complex populations. If they do this, they tend to preserve the sentiments of security and foresight among the populations. Otherwise, complicated societies tend to lose their social peace.

Many devices are employed by the social constitutions of Europe to preserve domestic faith and to stimulate foresight among the people. One of these is a series of laws which prevent families from mortgaging or selling their homesteads and from realizing the proceeds in money. The idea is to keep them from dissipating the value of the homesteads to the detriment of the family. In recent years these laws have declined in significance under the influence of the philosophy of "free contract." However, the premature expansion of the right of free sale of property has degraded many families and forced their members upon the charity of the community for their principal means of existence.²

European societies with strong social constitutions tend not only to harmonize property rights with the intellectual and moral development of the population, but in many places try to use home ownership as a means of reclaiming the intellectual and moral condition of working families which have fallen into a state of social suffering. An example of this is to be found in the mines of Hartz where the administration is attempting to reconstitute home ownership. The corporation has built houses which become the nominal properties of chosen families. When a new house is built or a line leaves no heir, the administration selects a homeless laborer and places him on the property, requiring

² Le Play's predictions seem justified in that a number of post-war European countries are tending to make many types of homesteads inalienable. (Editors.)

him to have a certain interest rate and amortization fee deducted from his wages. In reality the process of amortization is so slow that few became actual proprietors of their houses. Nevertheless, the fiction of ownership has advantages for the worker as well as for the administration. The worker acquires more self-respect and becomes more interested in his job. The mortgage held by the administration of the mine protects the worker in the sense that he cannot hypothecate his property to a usurer. Disturbing influences are kept from contact with the workers' families, since the mining corporation can prevent the acquisition of houses by outsiders.

The material advantage of this to the worker is evident. He can sublease that part his house which is not necessary for his family. This adds to his income and forms a kind of subvention, in addition to his regular salary. A particular case illustrates these advantages. A miner of Clausthal had purchased a house for 1480 fr. when he was 34 years of age. He had given a mortgage to the mining administration for the total sum. He had paid the interest on this loan and reduced the debt to 280 fr. In the meantime his property had increased in value. This estate of his enabled him to face old age with a feeling of peace. Without it, since he had no children to support him and his aged wife, he would be facing life after sixty with despair.

Home owning is very beneficial from a moral point of view. If it is not widely spread in complex societies, this is due partly to low wages and partly to other factors. Certain industries, whose receipts barely balance their expenses, pay salaries which satisfy only indispensable needs. With very rare exceptions in Europe saving is really impossible for most workmen. However, intelligent planning bears fruit as soon as changing circumstances relieve the family from the heaviest burdens or else assure it of supplementary resources. Home ownership brings happiness to the population in the midst of an otherwise intolerable existence. The sentiment of ownership develops among workmen into a moral force. The establishment and the maintenance of such a régime

presupposes a high solicitude on the part of the employers for their workers.

In the greater part of Europe a workman's house has a garden or orchard, the area of which in most cases comprises three or four *ares* (that is 300 or 400 square meters or from 3200 to 4300 square feet). Rarely it reaches eight *ares* (8600 square feet). Ordinarily the women, with the help of the children and the old parents, cultivate the vegetables and fruits consumed by the household. The potatoes and the cucurbitaceous plants which require a larger area are usually not raised in the garden. When the family undertakes the cultivation of these it secures a special piece of land, sometimes rented for cash and at others received as part of the salary or as a subsidy from the proprietor of the industry in which the laborer is employed. The hemp necessary for the production of domestic cloth is often cultivated under these conditions.

Furniture Upkeep

In eastern Europe families are content with only a few articles of wood and with some metal dishes. They rest upon cushions and mats spread upon the floor. The cost and the maintenance of this furniture entails only a small expense. In the west, on the other hand, the poorest workman thinks that he needs beds furnished with sheets, dishes of glazed pottery, earthenware, glassware, metal utensils and several pieces of furniture of polished wood. Therefore, the purchase of furniture requires a considerable outlay by the newly wed.

In agricultural regions which have not yet felt the influence of urban manners, custom determines in a more or less definite manner the composition of the furniture of each home. Public sentiment forbids marriage to young people who have not yet secured their furniture. This acts as a wholesome restraint upon premature unions. It uses one of the strongest instincts to promote habits of work and thrift in youth. In consideration of this tutelary action, each monograph devotes a special paragraph to the inventory of the furniture. Those who carefully consider this

detail of popular custom will understand by this single example that the well-being of working families often rests upon mores which the legislator has never considered. Such persons will then find themselves more readily disposed to recognize that in localities where well-being has temporarily disappeared, its restoration depends more upon regaining the mores than upon other reforms.

Unfortunately the tutelary custom requiring acquisition of furniture before marriage has been broken in the cities and the manufacturing regions of the west for half a century. Among the causes of this decadence emphasis must first be placed upon the influence of style and the other exaggerations of novelty. Political revolutions, the weakening of paternal authority, the excessive mobility of populations in modern industry, and the tendency which owners and the heads of industries have of avoiding the duties of patronage must also bear some blame for this decay. Many workers from former model societies yield to thoughtless desires. They enter on imprudent marriages without having secured the necessary furniture for the household, without having attached themselves by work and thrift to steady jobs; they thus prepare, for their children as well as for themselves, a future of misery and privation. Others fall into another difficulty. Instead of being content with furniture in harmony with their condition, they imitate the luxuries of the middle classes. The sums spent upon these rash purchases are often needed later for emergencies. The monograph of a jeweler of Geneva presents a striking example of this lack of thrift in a young household which possesses other solid moral qualities. In order to show that these false standards, due to Rousseauian dogmas of equality, are fatal to the success and happiness of the workers, we contrast with that monograph one of a household which has preserved the earlier secular standards of the Genevan population. Both monographs are in the sixth volume of *Les ouvriers européens*.

Heating

European working populations consume fuel for cooking and heating. Domestic fuel is one of the indispensable needs for the

preservation of human life. The quantity necessary for each family increases progressively in the colder regions because the increasing rigor of the climate requires a greater amount of heat, and health necessitates an increasing amount of cooked food. The distribution of fuel constitutes one of the most important factors of social economy and will continue to do so as long as steam remains the most valuable motive force in the west. No other factor in the material order has contributed so much to the modification of the condition of the working classes and likewise to that of all social relationships. In the north and in the east the population remains distributed upon the territory but in the west it is concentrated near the great coal basins which have become the chief sources of motive power and artificial heat. The sudden transformation in the customs of the west and many of the social disturbances are consequences of this concentration. Since the manufacturing industry has become a power of the first magnitude, we can disregard no longer the relationships which bind working populations to the coal fields and forests.

Fuel furnishes certain sure indications for ascertaining the degree of well-being enjoyed. It shows the nature of the relations between the workers and the employers and other dominant classes of society. A large consumption of fuel is not absolutely necessary for human life. It is therefore affected severely by conditions which reduce the incomes of workmen. In large cities, such as Paris, the high cost of fuel weighs cruelly upon the poor. Paris is far from presenting a picture of suffering and poverty comparable with that visible in London and several other British cities, yet in reality there is no place where the lack of fuel entails so much suffering. Winter visits to the poor in the French capital show the beneficial influences of social organizations which furnish subsidies of fuel to the workmen. These organizations are so important that they continue to this day, even in countries where the workmen are theoretically able to provide for all their other needs from their salaries. The allocation of fuel in proportion to need is the last subsidy which populations consent to abandon during the numerous modifications of the former economic

régime. These populations, even when subjected to *laissez faire* principles in all other fields, maintain by force this subvention founded upon ancient custom and upon the traditional tolerance of the owners of forests.

In the countries where fuel abounds, the workmen burn cord wood. In cool countries where choice fuels are high in price, workmen use materials of less value. In most of Europe they gather the useless branches from timber exploitations or the remnants of lumber or dead wood. Near the coal basins they burn small coal and slack unsuitable for other uses, moulding it into bricks by mixing it with sufficient clay to give it the consistency necessary for use upon the grates of their hearths. In the regions that have neither forests nor coal, such as the marshy land of central northwest Ireland, the moors of Great Britain, the swamps of northern France, Belgium, Holland, northern Germany, Denmark, Scandinavia, Finland, and Russia, the workmen secure their fuel from peat fields. In other regions lacking fuel the people content themselves with dry grass, reeds, straw, and dried manure. The exclusive use of manure for fuel is one of the peculiarities which strikes the traveler on his first journey across the plains of the new and the old world. Finally, where all these resources are lacking, dead animals are burned.

Cutting wood in the forests of the north and of the east is considered a "right" even when the populations by origin and occupation have nothing else in common with the owners. Thus, in the basin of the upper Kama in Russia, villages upon the crown estates take fuel wood from neighboring forests belonging to individuals. This "right" is more solidly established among populations more closely related to the timber owners. The subsidy in these countries sometimes amounts to 53,000 kilograms of dry wood per household per year. Ordinarily it has no other limit than the need of the family. In many localities the right to the subsidy of fuel wood has not been altered by the rupture of the bonds which bound the workman to the soil (*adscriptus glebae*). The free use of his person is counterbalanced by a moral solidarity which subjects the workman to the owner of the forests. The

workman thus possesses many of the privileges of the feudal régime. This condition exists, for example, in Sweden, Hungary, and parts of the Slavic provinces of central Europe. In Germany, France, Italy, and especially Spain, communities cling today with unshakable tenacity to rights in the surrounding forests acquired in some remote period. They care for the forests in common and divide the annual products by custom "right." These practices are sometimes out of harmony with the best principles of reforestation, but they offset the lack of fuel.

The nineteenth century revolutions which have changed customs in the cities and countries of the west, particularly France, have disrupted the moral solidarity which formerly bound the worker to the owner of forests. Forest estates have passed into new hands, and the newcomers have not interpreted the social duties of ownership as did their predecessors. The workman is no longer permitted to enjoy the former subsidy, and yet his salary does not permit him, any more than in the past, to buy the fuel necessary for his family. This difficult situation awakens in the population the memory of former rights and develops conflicts which demoralize the workman, irritate the owner, trouble the country, and disrupt the social order. True, in many cases, the vestiges of tradition serve to attenuate the evil. However, it is evident that this new régime tends to isolate each class of society to the detriment of general social relationships. This condition is a primary cause of social disorganization. It is not only in the matter of fuel supply that the disadvantages of the rupture of social bonds is felt, but no concrete detail of the domestic life of the workman better reveals one of the principal evils of the nineteenth century *laissez faire* system. It is especially in the ownership of forests that the new social economy of the Occident, and especially of France, departs from the paths of experience and tradition. Several monographs in the *Les ouvriers européens* illustrate the differences which today distinguish the new régime in France from that prevailing in those countries which still preserve the former prosperous "European Régime."

The workman entitled to a subsidy of fuel wood is ordinarily

responsible for its gathering and transportation. In the north and in the east the head of the family with the assistance of his draft animals almost always does this work. In the west, where this right remains it applies only to dead wood or to small branches. The work is done almost exclusively by women and children. It is painful labor, harmful to the physical constitutions of women and young girls who in fact must devote a considerable part of their time to carrying heavy burdens when the forests are far from the house.

In the coal regions this combustible is given to the workmen according to their need. Even in England many coal industries preserve this custom although in other respects they systematically resist the last vestiges of the régime of subsidy. For example, the workers of the great copper mines of Wales almost always receive their supply of fuel in kind.

Lighting

Lighting is the last category of expense related to the house. It is a secondary need for most of the workers of the warm and temperate regions of Europe, where the length of the day is sufficient for the activities of each season. Some agricultural workers of the west have scarcely any lighting expense. The cost of lighting increases in an appreciable manner when the populations during the winter evenings pursue the pleasures of reading, conversation, and community meetings. This expense is sometimes an excellent indication of the degree of intellectual culture and of the sociability of each family under identical social conditions. The consumption of light increases as one nears the northern regions. The workers in northern Russia consume considerable lighting material.

The means of lighting most used upon the littoral of the Arctic Sea consists of wicks dipped in fish oil. In the wooded regions further south fragments of resinous wood variously prepared are used. Sometimes substances are covered with tar extracted either from resinous wood or from the birch tree. The

same mode of lighting is used in the high mountains of the south. In the French Pyrenees, during winter evenings, small fragments of pine roots (*Pinus sylvestris*) are burnt slowly upon the hearth. In the central region candles are manufactured from greases and tallow with the addition of rosin. Vegetable oils are consumed by means of wicks arranged something like those of kerosene lamps. Populations stubbornly cling to methods of lighting which tradition has transmitted to them. This detail of domestic economy, like the use of cereals or cooking methods, serves to indicate the origin, the identity, and the diversity of societies. Sometimes limits of family administrative units and political subdivisions in the north and in the west are marked by the methods of lighting, such as the types of torches. North of the Loire the traveler notes that he is near the limits of the former province of Brittany when he sees candles being used.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Other Expenses for Living

CLOTHING

The procedure, the habits, and the economic combinations by means of which families secure clothing constitute a highly interesting problem. From these facts useful information is obtained concerning the customs of the family and likewise concerning the social condition of the locality. The two extreme regions of Europe, the east and the west, present, in the matter of clothing, differences that are still more radical than those in the other details of domestic life.

The Acquisition of Clothing

The semi-sedentary shepherd peoples who live in the southern section of the Ural mountains, contiguous to the plains of Kirghiz, secure their means of living almost exclusively from domestic labor with their flocks. Their clothing, made of wool and the hides of animals, is manufactured in each home. The little linen which they use is manufactured from raw hemp, which, if it is not cultivated at home, is secured in exchange for some product of their flocks. The women do the spinning, weaving, and dyeing, and make the clothing. They often tan hides. There is perceptible a slight tendency to purchase leather shoes and other articles of clothing which, by reason of the long time they require to make are only rarely manufactured in the home.

In the manufacturing districts of England families no longer produce cloth by domestic economy. Women scarcely ever make the clothing and it is only rarely that they do all the mending. These operations are no longer a part of domestic life. An English working woman whose time is given to performing skill-

fully one detail in the manufacture of cotton thread would be unable to take any part in the making of coarse cloth such as is produced in the domestic industry of the East.

Clothing is made at home in eastern Europe. This necessity, like food, is jeopardized only by accidental circumstances, the influences of which are local and temporary. The populations are, consequently, seldom if ever obliged to give up their habits of cleanliness and neatness. The diversity of occupations introduces the individual to a general knowledge of industrial processes and stimulates the regular use of the eye and the hand.

In the urban west the family provides for its needs only by money. This single resource is often restricted, either by special causes in the family or by commercial crises. These crises are more frightful to the populations of the Occident than are famines and epidemics to those of the Orient. Forced by poverty to use all its resources for bare existence (food), the family of the Occident ceases to purchase clothing and temporarily pawns or even sells its best possessions. In the state of improvidence in which most workers live, clothing constitutes in fact the only available capital reserve of the family. In certain manufacturing cities many are scarcely covered with rags, a condition which does not exist even in the lowest ranks of the nomad tribes. It seems that in order to humble the pride of certain "progressive" societies, Providence has permitted this indescribable poverty for the purpose of contrast with the resources of industry and the splendors of wealth. In no other place in the world is this contrast so great as in London and in most of the large cities of the British Isles. In addition, workers who spend a lifetime performing a single mechanical operation, develop only one faculty, one aptitude, or one organ. During the idleness of the one machine on which they depend, they are unable to engage in those domestic industries which, in the former European economy, assured a living to the family.

The strong clothes of wool, hemp, or leather, of the east and of the north, are generally very durable. Only a small amount of the total time is given to their manufacture. In the Occident the

cotton and the woolen clothes which the manufacturers sell at low prices to the workman last only a short time. The manufacture of the clothing is generally more expensive than the cost of the cloth. The purchase of clothing cuts deeply into the incomes of families who are strangers to this kind of work.

In western countries the women who work in the home find the manufacture of clothing with purchased cloth a light task. The time formerly given to spinning is now given to knitting and sewing. The western populations especially distinguished by the good quality and the cleanliness of their clothing are those in which the women make clothing with purchased cloth. In several districts where the well-being of the people was once endangered by the invention of the spinning machine, we observe an improvement due to the schools, which teach the girls how to make new garments from manufactured cloth. In our studies we indicate the time devoted by the women of the family to the various details of the manufacture of cloth and clothing.

In most of Europe, the people have developed and retained types of clothing in harmony with the climate, the age, the sex, and the profession. In this respect, and often in elegance, their clothing is superior to the uniform costumes which the modern régime imposes upon all classes of society. It is these local costumes which add to the interest of travelers in the people of Norway, northern Sweden, the Slavic countries, the principalities of the Danube, Hungary, European Turkey, Greece, and also certain provinces of the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Spain, and France. In each monograph we have endeavored to present the characteristics of the manufacture of cloth, especially where the ancient national costume has been conserved. When the family monographs are developed upon a large scale, it will be desirable to sketch the houses, the furniture, and the clothing of families studied.

The tendency to abandon the national costume is first manifested in the large cities. Thence it gradually extends to rural populations as manufactured cloth is substituted for domestic weaving. This modification of custom has rather grave psycho-

logical results. Costumes, distinctive for each region, recall to every class the memory of the society of the province and of the profession. They maintain habits of solidarity which are psychologically more satisfactory than are the vague aspirations toward equality and "internationalism" of some nations. The adoption of a uniform costume often destroys rather than develops the sentiment of personal dignity. Nothing is more indicative of the demoralization in the west of the personality. The poor workman in eastern Europe and in most of the rural districts of the west, degraded by failure and intemperance, is still able to preserve a remnant of dignity under the débris of clothing made in more fortunate days. Little of this dignity remains under the rags given out by the charities of large cities. Certain quarters of London, Manchester, and Glasgow, and the entire city of Dublin present to the imagination typical manifestations of this demoralization.

Habits relative to the clothing of children also demand the attention of observers, because they give a concrete idea of the comfort, the morality, and the pride of the family. The neglect of children is in fact one of the first symptoms of the lessening of the resources of the home or the moral laxity of the parents. Certain economically poor populations make it a question of honor to give their children clothing manufactured for them. This solicitude is in contrast with the tendency which relatively comfortable western families have of clothing their children only with the worn-out garments of adults without attempting to fit them. These habits evidently correspond to essential differences in the human heart, and present an interesting study. Several poor localities of northern and of eastern Europe present touching examples of paternal affection in this respect. These examples prove that the taste and the moral value of the family are not always measured by the amount of their annual income or even by the development of their intelligence.

In medieval Europe, the clothing of workmen was composed essentially of woolen or hempen cloth, which sometimes lasted a lifetime. The customs maintained by thrift, already mentioned

in the section on furniture, then extended to articles of clothing. Public opinion often required young women who aspired to marriage to secure first of all a considerable outfit of clothing. The acquisition of these durable clothes meant the immobilization of a certain amount of capital, but the employers, who were bound to their employees by solidarity, considered these preliminary acquisitions a matter of honor, although the expense thereby entailed fell in part upon them. By their advice and assistance these ancient customs were continued. These cusoms still have considerable influence in those countries of the continent which are remote from manufacturing districts. Although a considerable part of the capital of the community becomes immobile it is always at hand for emergencies. In the north and in the east of Europe the gift of a beautiful article of clothing is still the highest reward of a workman or of a person belonging to a high class. During my youth the young ladies of the *Pays de Caux* took great pride in manufacturing a rich trousseau of domestic linen with their own hands. In 1865, when obligatory division of estates had not yet ruined the farmers of Lavedan, the same practice was found among the families there. Today in spite of the systematic attacks made against former secular traditions, the young ladies of the old families of Lunebourg remain faithful to the earlier custom. They still accumulate in their bridal chests numerous rolls of linen which they have spun and woven by hand.

These tendencies, these habits, disappear daily in the Occident, where the chief interest of the manufacturers under the competitive régime is to obtain human labor at the lowest possible price and to reduce the capital invested per unit of mechanical force to its lowest limits. The owners of large factories naturally persuade their workmen to reduce the amount of capital to be devoted to the acquisition of lasting furniture and clothing. The purchase of clothing, instead of being made once for the duration of a life, tends to become a weekly expense as is the purchase of food. A contrast of the monographs about the Bulgarian blacksmith and the Moravian laborer, each belonging to the poorest classes, one of the Orient and the other of the Occident, shows

the different influences clothing has upon the two populations. It establishes the social superiority of the easterners, who are amply provided with beautiful linen clothing, over the westerners, who are reduced to the use of poor cotton clothing.

The peoples of the Orient, moved by a sentiment of personal dignity, have a peculiar interest in the possession of beautiful costumes. For this purpose they accumulate the savings of the family and do not hesitate, even among the inferior classes, to purchase objects of high price and long wear, because the cut and color of the clothing, which are appropriate to the climate and to their profession, remain invariable. Moreover, among the peoples where loans with interest are forbidden by the religious law, the desire to make a worthy use of their savings leads them to use precious metals in their attire. The real character of this custom is especially revealed among those who use gold and silver coins for this purpose. Upon this subject the reader should consult the monographs for the families of the Orient distinguished by the grace of their customs and the wealth of the accessory ornaments.

The Laundering of Clothes and Linen

The laundering of clothes and linen is a domestic occupation in the larger part of Europe. Consequently, it has been classed among the household activities ordinarily practiced by the women of the family, with or without the aid of the children. This work is rarely sent out of the home. Exceptions are made for articles of clothing which require special cleansing, and for cases where the women labor outside of the home or when the house has insufficient laundry space.

For three reasons the time spent in laundering increases as we near the Occident: the use of baths is less widespread; more household linen is used; and cotton clothing is progressively substituted for articles of skins and wool.

The operations of laundering are performed in about the same way throughout all of Europe. Soapy water, or water prepared

with alkalis or with extracts from the ashes of various vegetables, is used. This detail of domestic economy often brings into strong relief the lack of liberty which increases with the grouping of families. The workmen of the large cities, because of their intimate contact with the bourgeois classes, feel most strongly the need for cleanliness in their linen and clothing. But their homes are but ill-equipped to satisfy this need. In the textile regions the women give up the tasks of laundering, either to work outside of the home or to avoid the expense of renting a larger house and purchasing laundry equipment. Having become inexpert in domestic laundering, or lacking the tools and the space required, they are no longer able to do it when other lucrative occupations are unavailable. This circumstance aggravates their impoverished condition, which is further intensified by their inability to make articles of clothing. This is a case which reveals the disadvantages of the too-exclusive specialization of aptitudes required by the exaggerated division of labor. Here the abuse of the principle of division of labor eliminates the "working woman" when she is deprived of her out-of-home job. In the simpler economy all women are "working women." In the complex economy only those employed permanently away from home are "working women." This disadvantage of the division of labor leads the workman to have the laundering performed outside of the home. Guided by the opposite principles the Orient carries on all the details of this task as a domestic industry. Very often Oriental peoples even manufacture the soap at home.

With regard to the laundering of clothing, a few manufacturing cities possess certain conveniences which seem extremely useful. In Geneva each house in the lower and middle class districts contains two rooms especially set aside for laundering. One is on the first floor for the washing and another on the upper floor for the drying. All the families of the tenement arrange to use these rooms in turn. They are thus enabled to use room and equipment which would be costly and yet inadequate if annexed to each lodging. Public laundries recently set up in the large manufacturing cities of Great Britain and in several cities of the

continent are an extension of the same principle. These establishments assure to all the inhabitants of a large section the use of the means of laundering. Their large size makes possible the use of improved methods in all the divisions of the work. They decrease considerably the expense of fuel and labor. This innovation constitutes in the modern régime a sort of restoration of the principle of subsidy. It is a benefit to the suffering classes. As a general tendency, however, it is perhaps not without some psychological and social disadvantages. It constitutes a new invasion of the manufacturing industry upon the work of the household. It also tends to group the women together in large secondary organizations which remove them momentarily from the tutelary influence of the home.

MORAL, EDUCATION, RECREATION, AND HEALTH EXPENDITURES

The expenses grouped in this fourth section of the budget concern religion, the education of the children, the assistance and charity given to the poor, recreation, family holidays, as well as medical and surgical services. They are related, in a sense, as a combination of the things intended to provide for the needs of the soul, the development of intellect, diversion from the fatigue of labor and the upkeep of the health of the body. With the exception of recreation, which, for most workmen, is composed rather of material pleasures than of enjoyments based upon the moral order, the needs of this category entail but unimportant expenses. It is useful, nevertheless, to consider to what extent the family seeks to satisfy this need.

Religion—Charity

The remuneration of the clergy and the upkeep of religious establishments are usually provided by ecclesiastical (*mortmain*) property or are borne by the public administration. They are rarely borne directly by the population. Almost always, however, the people make certain expenditures of this kind. These are collected in conformity with the institutions and the customs of

the country, either as regularly fixed contributions or as voluntary gifts. The populations who are moved by an active faith ordinarily attach great importance to the preservation of the memory of deceased relatives by means of religious ceremonies. Sometimes they spend rather large sums for this purpose. The regular celebrations of these anniversaries and the pomp that accompanies them are in many cases an excellent indication of the delicacy of the moral sentiment. These touching customs are found equally developed in the two extremities of Europe: in France, in several provinces of the west and the south; and in Russia among the Christians and the Moslems of the provinces bordering the Ural Mountains. Elsewhere the lack of religious fervor often eliminates this form of expense.

When one closely considers the classification of the six categories of European workers, one soon recognizes that the principles upon which these distinctions are founded belong essentially to the moral order. The rank in the social hierarchy occupied by the different types of workers is always related to the sentiments of thrift developed among them. This great virtue which moderates the immediate material appetites and which constantly recommends saving, is for the individual, as well as for a whole people, the principle of individual independence. It is this especially which, in all social organizations, promotes the emancipation of the lower classes, and which, in the Occident, constantly raises the moral and thrifty workman up to the bourgeois class.

In the lowest ranks of society thrift is little known. Therefore, we cannot encourage it too much. No matter what the persons charged with the moral direction of inferior workers are able to do these families always sin in this regard, owing chiefly to poor judgment rather than to intemperance. It is otherwise with the managers of factories, with the property owning workmen, and, in general, with the individuals who constitute the class between the workers and the bourgeois. These élite workers have for the most part won the position which they occupy by subordinating their acts and their thoughts to an earnest interest in gain and savings. If, when it has produced its fruits, this interest is not

tempered by a new order of moral sentiments, the workman has escaped from the coarse instincts of the lower classes only to fall into other odious sins, selfishness and avarice. As he rises in the social hierarchy, the individual has greater influence over his fellow men. He has under his authority other men situated in diverse conditions, but all having need of help and protection. Duties are imposed upon him, the gravity and the social consequences of which increase as he rises. He no longer has the single duty of providing for his own well-being and that of his family. Social harmony cannot be preserved in the sphere of his activities unless his interest extends to all the families who are dependent upon him. The personal preoccupation, which until then was his principal virtue, becomes a cause of social disturbance if it is not complemented and ennobled by a great sentiment of social solidarity and of patronage.

Unfortunately, man, when abandoned to his natural impulses, is rarely gifted with that benevolent disposition which enables this change in sentiment and habit to keep step with the advance in social position. A man who has been able to overcome a thousand obstacles in order to elevate himself to the rank of an owner or a manager of industry will rarely find in himself the moral resources necessary to adopt the virtues and practice the duties of his new condition. It has often been noticed that individuals recently freed from the workers' dependent position are harder-hearted toward their subordinates than those who, having been born in a high station, have learned from the tradition of their families to fulfill the obligations of that station. The social constitutions which have best assured the happiness of peoples have all been founded upon the practice of religion, but they have presented two principal differences and this contrast persists today. Some constitutions definitely give the care of the population to certain families in which the sentiment of these obligations is transmitted by social heredity through the influence of custom or through the help of institutions. Others, on the other hand, prohibit all heredity classification and permit, without distinction of birth, individuals to climb all the steps of the social hierarchy; but, at

the same time, these constitutions impose upon society a moral pressure sufficiently strong to develop in individuals who have risen to the higher ranks of wealth, learning, or power the notion of their duty towards the inferior classes. In stratified societies order is maintained by sentiments of duty according to the ancient adage, *noblesse oblige*. In mobile groups it is maintained by special energy added to religious teaching. Both of these two régimes may be observed among model European societies. They incessantly assimilate what is best in each of these principles. Under the influence of religious sentiment the societies which harmonize the new ideas with tradition see to it that all the duties of patronage are transmitted by heredity, but at the same time recruit new members to the upper classes and teach these their new responsibilities of patronage.

These considerations show the rôle played by religion in the economy of societies with reference to the improvement of the working classes. It encourages the development of thrift. It disciplines the more capable workers in a psychological sense and gives them the moral strength necessary to resist the extremes of individualism. It forms the natural counterweight to the habits engendered by the desire for gain and thrift. It initiates the worker into the new duties which are implied in his rising toward the bourgeois class. The real progress of the working classes takes place if the development of moral sentiment keeps step with the economic.¹ Model industrial societies harmonize the pronounced disposition towards thrift with the tendency to help the individuals who have fallen into poverty. For this reason we have deemed it wise to devote a special article to this kind of expense.

Observation shows that among certain simple populations with strong mores, living where nature produced abundantly and where thrift is not all-important, the habit of helpfulness towards and sympathy for the suffering of the poor is not ordinarily related to their strong religious organization. In this type of society man follows impulses which lead him sometimes to help those who

¹ Here the author keeps close to the idea of the social nature of economics as presented in the writings of Alfred Marshall.

suffer and sometimes to overindulge in physical enjoyments. This spontaneity gives an inexpressible charm to the simple peoples of the Europe of yesterday. These peoples, who are poorly educated, practice hospitality and charity, not as duties but as acts arising naturally from the very condition of man. These customs rarely exist in societies where the ranks or levels of social stratification are immutably fixed. When populations are carefree and are not always striving to attain a higher economic position, they show a great deal of charity as a means of social stimulation. These spontaneous customs are modified as the tempo of life increases and as economic rationalization proceeds. In rationalized societies a strongly constituted religion must intervene to preserve harmony between the various classes. In each case the observer must appreciate these complexities.

Education of the Children

Primary education is one of the means used to develop the exercise of free will in individuals and to preserve stability and peace. The peoples justly most admired by others are precisely those who have given the best organization to their schools. Too often, however, we attribute to education, as it is now given in the public schools, too great an importance. Some populations which are entirely illiterate present a remarkable development of well-being, intelligence, and morality. I have often found a type of attention and a development of memory among them which does not exist in the same degree among the literate populations. Often the heads of families of these "backward régimes" show great cleverness, discernment, and personal integrity. These qualities are transmitted without effort from generation to generation by the example of the parents, by the mode of living, and by the influence of tradition. The introduction of primary education into societies may involve at first certain disadvantages and create dangerous disturbances if it is not done with special care. At this time there are populations both in the east and the west where the heads of the families, while appreciating the advantages of

education, nevertheless refuse its benefits from the fear that respect for parental authority may be lessened. This disposition to reject the benefits of education is not found where the parental authority is sufficiently guaranteed by religious sentiment and by respect for custom.

In contemporary Europe few countries give the development of the young entirely to the régime of tradition. To religious education, generally given by the clergy, an intellectual training is added. This consists of reading, writing, some notion of arithmetic, geography, natural science, and technology. It would be superfluous to dwell upon the details of primary education of the masses. We limit ourselves to the statement that study of work and family life must furnish important facts to the person intrusted with the task of propagating and improving popular education. In order to improve intellectual education and to make it acceptable to all, it is not sufficient to establish schools or even to pay expenses for the children belonging to the less fortunate classes. The time devoted to study in these classes should not deprive the family of important resources. Children frequently contribute to the well-being of the family by some occupation appropriate to their age. The poorest families attach the greatest importance to this co-operation. In order to assure the benefits of education to children thus situated without taking away some essential means of livelihood from their families, it is first necessary to subordinate the régime of the school to the actual conditions of the populations. Later, following the example given by several German states, there remains the task of adjusting the habits of work to the now recognized necessity of general propagation of intellectual education. France since 1789 has been proceeding by means of centralized control of education over the whole nation. Administrations, however, have always, as far as is possible, taken account of local needs. In many cases social resistance has rendered futile the efforts of the government. Research into the economic and intellectual conditions of the working classes is therefore necessary.

Recreation

The quantity of work performed by a population is in many respects a measure of the level of its morality, intelligence, and physical well-being. However, work seldom exhausts all the powers of the body and the mind. A well balanced preservation of the faculties of man requires that he give himself periodically to physical and intellectual exercises essentially distinct from work. Religion, which inculcates certain principles of human nature, recognizes among its principal requirements the periodic interruption of work.

Religious exercise and the cultivation of family relationships constitute in Europe, and probably elsewhere, the chief means of resting the body and the mind from the fatigues of daily labor. They absorb the greater part of the time which is not devoted to the profession or to sleep. They are the only source of diversion from work in the countries where religious sentiment is highly developed, where family relationships are very strong, and where institutions impart great severity to customs.

In most cases, however, work, religion, and the family do not fill all the time. Man is more or less drawn toward certain occupations that are remote from these influences. These occupations provide diversion from work, and have been given the general name of recreation.

The types of recreation in use among different peoples is one of the principal exterior manifestations of their physical and moral condition. In this matter as in many other details of existence, climate often plays an important part. In the north and even down to the central European zone the consumption of choice foods and especially of fermented beverages is the favorite recreation of the workman. On the contrary, as one nears the extreme limit of the southern zone, these pleasures lose their attraction and the use of spirituous beverages is exceptional. The most sought-for recreation in the south consists of public festivals, walking, music, dancing, and games of skill and chance. These two opposite tendencies are almost evenly balanced in the central

region which extends between the mouths of the Danube and the Loire rivers.

The festivals celebrated upon the occasions of anniversaries, religious holidays, marriages, or events peculiar to the locality are an important source of recreation among all peoples. Meals taken in the home are often their principal feature. In the Orient where the populations have an abundance of food, these meals are generally characterized by copious and varied dishes, but in the localities where poverty is habitually felt, where for example meat dishes enter into the food regime only on special occasions, the families insist upon departing once a year at least from the rigors of this régime. Thus it is that the poorest people ordinarily succeed in securing one good meal each year, such as on the local holiday of the village in France or on Christmas Day in England.

The use of narcotics is related to a more particular trait of human nature. It forms a special kind of recreation sought in every climate and by some members of every race. It daily enters into European habits upon a larger scale. At present the chief narcotic employed in Europe is tobacco in various forms. The consumption of it is increasing rapidly. It is considered harmful and a symptom of decadence: the rich contract coarse and anti-social habits, and the poor spend for it money which should be applied more usefully. However, a close observation of the facts reveals that tobacco, considered as an object of recreation, has values for which in many cases there is no substitute. This becomes evident when one studies certain types of workmen who live a hard life and who find no means of recreation in the circumstances in which they are placed. The charcoal workers of Carinthia and the miners of Hartz are examples of this. The privations of hard climate, the exercise of hard labor for the production of a bare living, leave no means of recreation other than the use of tobacco. How, for example, could the miner of Hartz, with an annual expenditure of about ten francs, secure any more pleasant satisfaction? The ten francs for tobacco gives him an agreeable, restful sensation a thousand times during the year. The charcoal worker and the miner as well as the sailor

are in the situation of the Indian wanderer who invented the use of tobacco in the forests of North America.

The most commendable means of recreation are wisely associated with family and community relationships. They vary according to climate, locality, the character of the people and the dominant occupations. Reading aloud, telling stories, musical and literary performances have for a long time been the custom among certain populations. The pleasures of the winter evenings in several provinces of France and Spain, the public lecture courses given in Paris and in the large cities of the Occident, could be the examples for a multitude of new institutions which would exercise a most wholesome influence upon the well-being of the workmen. Guided by these considerations, several directors of industries apply themselves successfully to imparting higher impulses to public customs. They organize such forms of recreation to draw the workmen away from coarser habits. The methodical study of popular recreation in various countries furnishes food for thought. Certain useful details of education, related to the workers, may be retained in the program. Such recreation has good results even though it does not satisfy certain theoretical conceptions of the scholar. It is sufficient if it later introduces the worker to the greater enjoyment of certain moral forms of recreation.

Health Service

The regular benefits of medicine are still lacking among the working populations in the larger part of Europe. This applies especially to the agricultural workers not living near the cities. Medical service is indispensable to all well constituted societies, less for the alleviation of physical suffering than for the satisfaction of moral needs. Unless one remains indifferent to every human sentiment, one cannot see a member of his family afflicted by sickness and leave him without medical assistance. The lack of care is perhaps the one most keenly felt. It is easy to see that the families which are accustomed to leave their sick ones without help are, by that very fact, the victims of a real moral degradation.

Although we might doubt, as has often been done, the practical utility of a great deal of medicine as it is practiced in many places, we cannot ignore the unhappy influence which the absence of health service exerts from the moral point of view.

The common moral feelings never permit a total lack of medical service in the most poverty-stricken countries. It is at least represented by certain crude institutions. Medical service, especially with regard to child births and wounds is carried on everywhere by practitioners who are partially equipped for their tasks. Sometimes crude practitioners intervene into the domain of real medicine. Public confidence, arising from necessity, calls certain persons whose natural inclination has been developed by tradition, observation, and practice, to the treatment of the sick. Medical aptitude is manifested especially among those whose profession is conducive to meditation. It is especially developed among women whose sedentary occupations are not fatiguing to the body, and leaves them entirely free for reflection. Such are the working women who, not having to engage in housework, give themselves entirely to sewing, spinning, knitting, and the manufacture of lace. The aptitude for this kind of study is more rare among the men who must, in general, concentrate all the faculties of their intelligence upon their work and whose activities of thought are dulled by exhausting labor.

Men, however, also give themselves to the art of medicine in the plains, the mountains, and the forests, where the agricultural life is but little followed and where pasturing is the dominant industry. The shepherds use certain energetic and intelligent men who have learned the art of healing through the care that they must give to sick animals for a crude medical practice to humans. These practitioners are able to develop, through reflection, certain medical conclusions which their daily experience furnishes them. Among the roaming families of the great plains of Asia these practitioners develop naturally. They add magic to their medical knowledge by making pilgrimages to holy places in the same manner as those who give themselves to the service of religion.

Whatever be the judgment of science upon the usefulness of

medical service organized upon such a basis, it cannot be denied that these empirical doctors obtain many successes in the treatment of prevalent sicknesses and also that public confidence in them is at times justified. It would be desirable for medical scholars to undertake some travels among these populations for the purpose of studying this subject. Such a study would be extremely interesting. Finally, the search for valuable pharmaceutical recipes transmitted in each country by tradition might not be without utility, even for medical science itself.

That the populations remote from the cities are everywhere deprived of regular medical service is far from true. Some proprietors and industrial chiefs furnish it to all their workers. The principle of subsidy has established medical treatment in all parts of Europe, even in localities where other subsidies tend to decrease. Among all the rural occupations, the mineral industry is the one which best assures medical treatment to the working classes. The hospitals, medical treatments, and hygiene services connected with the principal mines compare favorably with the model medical establishments of the large cities. The hospitals established at the gold, copper, and iron mines of Siberia would not be out of date either in Paris or London, and are perhaps better than similar institutions in many cities of Europe. This wholesome influence of the mineral industry extends to other details of the economic régime of the workers. No other branch of human activity presents more useful examples of the means of improving the condition of the working classes.

In some places medical attention and drugs are given as subsidies, not only to their own workers by the proprietors and the industrial chiefs, but also to entire populations, by the state, by other administrations, by communities, and by private benevolence.

The hospitals of Paris, for example, grant these benefits free to the greater part of those who claim a right to them. They provide for the expenses involved in part by taxes and in part by means of certain incomes from real estate exploited for that service. The law has authorized the existence of special *mortmain* property for this purpose. This *mortmain* income is increased

constantly by legacies given by benevolent persons. The principle upon which these Parisian hospitals rests (the same applies to other large cities) gives rise to serious consequences. When we consider the extent of the suffering which these establishments relieve, and the present impossibility of securing the same help upon a different principle, we surely cannot consider the introduction of a sudden change in the régime. But, on the other hand, after examining the question from the point of view of morality and distributive justice, we cannot consider the present solution as final. This régime exempts families from taking care of their own sick. It breaks the solidarity of employers and workers at the point where the most natural impulses of the human heart desire to maintain it. It also exempts the urban industries from burdens which weigh upon rural industries. In this matter the public hospital and, in general, the régime of public assistance as it is organized in France, gives rise to difficulties that are still more serious than those which are derived from the principle of the "poor tax" in England.

In the rural communities of the west, where it is important to hold the population which is too much disposed to emigrate toward the cities, the administration of medical aid is sometimes organized upon an excellent basis. Such is the case, for example, in the communities in the north of Spain, in which all the inhabitants subscribe toward the remuneration of professional doctors who give their services free to all the sick. We can also unre-servedly eulogize certain associations in the west of France whose purpose it is to furnish medical help to the poor of the country in their own homes. The funds furnished these associations by private benevolence are used in part for the purchase of linen and bed clothes, in part for the remuneration of doctors and pharmacists who, entering into the spirit of the founders, content themselves with modest salaries. These associations are becoming fruitful, especially when instead of depending exclusively upon the principle of charity, they also draw their resources from certain mutual insurance societies.

EXPENSES CONCERNING HOME INDUSTRIES, TAXES, AND INSURANCE

The sums and the objects expended for the exercise of family industries increase in proportion as the family rises in the social hierarchy. In certain cases they exceed in amount the expenses related to the existence needs. But the expenses concerned in the industries are distinct from those of consumption because the industries are essentially productive. Their receipts generally bring a surplus. There is, therefore, no reason for not making the surpluses figure in the budget of expenses under the same heading as the expenses which are related to the needs of the family. If we put the production expense instead of the surplus into the reckoning, it would alter the nature of the two budgets in which it is proposed especially to describe and compare the domestic life of families. One example will throw light upon this fact.

Let us consider two families placed in identical conditions, each receiving annually, and spending for its own needs, a sum of 1000 francs. Let us also suppose that they differ only in the nature of the accessory occupation which assures to each an income evaluated at 200 fr. The first family receives this sum as salary for extra work performed for a master. The second family obtains this sum as the profit from a domestic industry which gives for an expenditure of 2000 fr. an income of 2200 fr. It is evident upon first sight that the situation of the two families would suggest two different methods of grouping the receipts and the expenses. Following the most simple system adopted in this work, the identity of the conditions will be indicated by that of the budgets. According to the opposite system, this identity would be cancelled by the fact that the budgets of the two families would be entered as 1000 fr. for the first and 3000 fr. for the second. As a matter of fact each has 1200 fr. income.

These considerations do not abolish the need for reporting all the movements of money for each family so as to describe the household industries. We provide for this in the accounts

annexed to the budget. They are mentioned here only as a memorandum, and they have not been included in the columns devoted to expenses as such.

We made an exception in this rule in several cases where the family employs a helper. All the profits are entered on the receipts, and the expense account carries the domestic expenses of the worker and the total amount of his wages. These two elements figure only as exceptions in the expenses of certain families under the title of "expense concerning industries."

Debts

The interest which the family must pay to meet the debts which it has contracted is an expense which cannot be related to any of the preceding sections. In general, this is a very unimportant sum. The lower types of workers have no debts because they have no credit. In many social constitutions they are protected from debt by the influence of the employer or by positive institutions. This prevents a natural lack of thrift from placing the families in the hands of usurers. The debts which they contract, either to employers, or to their landlords for the arrears of house rent, never bear interest. It is the same, in principle, as the credit which certain furnishers of food and clothing grant, in periods of difficult circumstances, to workers of the Occident. All the families which thus put themselves into a state of dependence seldom in reality borrow without interest. The interest is recovered in increases in price or false measures of the objects delivered. Certain special observations made upon this subject in various countries have demonstrated that the interest imposed by merchants in this manner often exceeds by fifteen percent the price of the same object bought for cash. The workers belonging to the higher types, especially those who are nearer to the owner class, contract debts only for two principal reasons. Thrifty workers who make annual savings sometimes assure the investment of several years of savings by buying moderately priced real estate and paying the seller the principle and the interest. The

thriftless workers, who, although owners of property, are unable to keep their receipts upon the level of their expenses and who yield to the attraction of the purchase of lands, ordinarily burden their property with mortgages. The thrifty rise in the social hierarchy. The thriftless move slowly but surely toward expropriation, unless the creditors prefer to keep them dependent by leaving to them, along with a spacious appearance of ownership, all the obligations of the property. These various differences should be studied with care.

Taxes

Direct taxes levied upon persons and houses, industries and property, among all European peoples, are not imposed upon the lower class workers in many social constitutions. Direct taxes increase as the worker comes nearer to the condition of owners and of heads of industries.

On the contrary, all the workers pay an indirect tax levied upon the sale price of several articles. In the first rank among these indirect tax-bearing objects in nearly all Europe are sea salt, alcohol, fermented beverages, and tobacco. The cost of manufacture of sea salt varies among the countries of Europe from one to seven centimes per kilogram, but taxation ordinarily increases this price by an amount of from ten to thirty centimes. The profit of the retail merchant and interest upon taxes paid usually increase the price paid by the workman by an amount of from 15 to 50 centimes. Almost everywhere alcohol could be delivered to the consumer for a sum of between 30 and 50 centimes per liter: the tax, and in addition the profit of retail merchants, which is large for this article, usually raise the price to more than one franc per liter. Through a very wise arrangement, most of the European governments exempt fermented beverages for home consumption from taxation. These governments on the contrary levy heavy taxes upon beverages consumed in the drinking shops.

The share of taxes which the workers pay on tobacco is more variable than that on the preceding articles, either because tobacco

enters less regularly into their consumption or because the rate of taxation varies still more from one country to another.

The question has justly been raised whether the workers are seriously burdened by the indirect taxes which have been so long customary. When population is superabundant, the salaries and the subsidies granted as remuneration for labor are almost always based upon the strict needs of the family. These remunerations increase in relation to the price of the articles of consumption. The burden of the taxes which are imposed upon these objects thus falls upon the industry to which the workman is related, that is, in the last analysis, upon the consumers of the products of industry. It is thus more difficult than one might think to bring about a permanent improvement in the condition of the workers by a reform of taxation. It could even be proved that several reforms conceived in this spirit have produced results vastly different from what was expected.

Definite observations upon the physical and moral conditions of workmen make possible the settling of various questions concerning taxes which to this day remain uncertain because the solutions have been sought only by "reasoning from principle." Thus, for example, we may appreciate the real consequences of lotteries, which as a sort of indirect tax still exist among a few peoples. On this subject much controversy has arisen. Considered in their essentials, apart from the disadvantages which the practice of them may present, lotteries are seen to give satisfaction to one of the fundamental characteristics of the human spirit. They enlarge the imagination to embrace all the possibilities of chance. They enable classes which suffer to elevate their thoughts above the sad realities of existence. In this sense it is proper to say that lotteries assure to the most suffering classes certain satisfactions which are less harmful than are narcotics and spirits. These stimulants often replace lotteries in the places where they have been suppressed. The change can hardly be considered an improvement. A legitimate improvement would have been achieved only if the peoples among whom lotteries were suppressed had had other substitute recreations placed within their reach. [We refer

the reader to the monograph on the Carinthian charcoal worker.] In the state of intellectual somnolence which is often found even among grouped races, the lottery can be suppressed profitably only if it is replaced by things equally stimulating. This has not been done in numerous localities. The consolation which the people no longer find in the lottery is sought in the drink shop. As does the lottery, the drink shop stimulates vice to the profit of taxation; but in addition it has the disadvantage of oftentimes ruining the health and wasting the time of the worker. I have often sought among clear-minded and benevolent employers the solution of the problem of the lottery. According to some, it may be found in one of three measures: the suppression of the institution as a form of taxation; the regulations to preserve for more commendable interests the stimulating action which it exerts upon the imagination; and, finally, the allotment of the net profits of the lottery to some useful reform. An example of a useful designation of lottery gains is that which would use them to enable the populations of the west to recover ownership of their houses.

Insurance

As has been indicated several times, the greatest need of families in every social organization is to be insured against the contingencies which unexpectedly destroy their means of livelihood. The lower classes easily resign themselves to the most severe régime, providing their daily bread is guaranteed. On the other hand, they fall into discouragement and become restless as soon as this security is lacking. The real foundation of every social system is the institutions and customs which give satisfaction to this great need for security.

The problem to be solved is that of maintaining the means of livelihood which the families derive from regular labor. Solution has become difficult among the aggregated populations of the Occident. Among the contingencies which lead families into poverty we must mention especially unemployment arising from commercial crises, fire, flood, drought, hail, and all atmospheric

calamities. To these calamities are often added wars and various social disorders, sicknesses and wounds, untimely infirmities and the premature death of the head of the family. We have mentioned the principal customs by means of which the various social constitutions offset the effect of these numerous causes of suffering. The workers who distinguish themselves by their thrift and their intelligence and moral qualities find all desirable conditions of security. The workers placed upon a lower level of morality as well as of intelligence, find this security only outside of themselves, and especially in the solidarity which binds them to the higher classes of society. For the better classes of workers, life insurance is established independently of all social combinations and in the natural course of things. For the lower classes this insurance can be obtained only by special organizations where the expenses are borne sometimes by the workers, sometimes by the employers, the communities, the corporations, the municipalities, the provinces or the state, and sometimes by public or private charity. All these details are given in the case histories.

In addition these same questions are taken up again in each monograph under the title, "Customs and institutions insuring the physical and moral well-being of the family." It would be superfluous to insist upon the importance of these two sections of the budget and the preliminary observations given upon them. Not only do they constitute indispensable complements to the budgets, but also they are the best résumés which can be made of the social condition of each family.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Later History of the Method

The method of social science which has been followed has as a dominant characteristic the accumulation of innumerable facts and an incessant search for inductions and conclusions. The point of departure is a series of studies begun half a century ago and continued in all of Europe, in the regions contiguous to Asia, and more recently in the rest of the world. Each study has for its purpose a monograph dealing with a working family, the place that it inhabits, and the social constitution which controls it. Three hundred monographs have been drawn up according to the methodical plan. Fifty-seven families represent the various countries of Europe. In the documents affixed to these monographs, certain complementary facts extracted from other monographs on the same country are coördinated. This material forms the chief content of Volumes II to VI of *Les ouvriers européens*. The facts relative to the east and the north have been grouped in Volumes II and III. The numerous facts gathered in the west have been subdivided among Volumes IV, V, and VI, according as they represent stable, disturbed, or disorganized families. Each of the five subdivisions thus established conforms to the geographic constitutions and the social state of the populations of Europe. An analysis of conditions anterior to 1855 constitutes the introduction to each volume; the changes which have come since that period are described in the epilogues. The description of the fifty-seven monographs is the chief function of this work.

During the first years of my childhood (1806-1811) I was sheltered from the deleterious opinions which from 1789 had been propagated in the greater part of France. I was living in the midst of a maritime population devoted to the country. Blockaded by the English fleet, we were deprived in part of our habitual

means of subsistence. My first and most durable impressions were developed under the salutary influences of religion, national disasters, and poverty. The four years which followed (1811-1815) I lived in Paris in the home of a rich relative. Three teachers instructed me about the conditions which developed in France from the reign of Louis XIV to the fall of the Empire. During the next seven years (1815-1822), while living in my native country independent of family life, I studied under an excellent professor. Finally, for the entire year of 1823 a fifth teacher prepared me for understanding social science. He showed me the fallacies which were inherent in the political passions active in the large schools of Paris where I was going to reside for six years. He taught me to maintain a prudent reserve with regard to the affirmation of principles, testing them scientifically, through the history of the past and the study of the present.

THE APPRENTICESHIP OF THE METHOD (1829-1855)

I felt happy at the time of my admission into the *École des mines* in Paris because I was delivered from the strict discipline of the *École polytechnique*. The new profession opened the paths of social study to me. I found in my new chiefs both true teachers and real friends. M. Becquey, *directeur général des ponts et chaussées et des mines*, having heard of my plans for social study in 1829, called me to him for congratulations. That incident facilitated my studies. M. Becquey had been admitted to the legislative assembly in 1791 but had matured since then in the practice of business amidst political deceit. He listened with paternal kindness to the plan of social studies which Jean Reynaud and I had formed. He introduced me to some gentlemen from the Saxon plains who were then residing in Paris. One of the chiefs of the *corps royal des mines* was asked to introduce us to the administrators of the Hartz exploitations. As a result in July 1829 I began the outline of my first monograph at the home of the miner of Hartz.

Much credit for the success of my first journey is due to

the late Jean Reynaud. His is truly a superior spirit. His momentary propensity for Saint Simon joined to his somewhat mystical attitude toward politics and philosophy scarcely enabled him to help with the scientific part of the work, but he possessed the moral, intellectual, and physical aptitudes necessary to stimulate me.

The benevolent attitude which moved this chief of the *corps des mines* was maintained by his successors in spite of the disturbances produced in the government of France by the Revolution of 1830. To this sentiment was added compassion aroused by an accident in the laboratory of the school during the winter of 1829-1830 which resulted in a burn depriving me for an entire year of the use of my hands. My full physical strength did not return until the middle of the year 1832. The activity of my mind made up for the inaction of my body, and I created two scientific services for which the time seemed opportune. The continuation of *Annales des mines* interrupted by the 1830 disturbances and the publication of the new series *la statistique de l'industrie minérale* provided me with a position that suited my tastes; in the winter I directed the two new services and in the summer traveled abroad for data. The general purpose of these missions was first the service of the state and then the scientific and technical undertakings for which foreign governments asked the assistance of a French engineer.

In executing these missions until July 1848, I remained faithful to the ideal of attaining a double goal: to perform conscientiously my duties as an engineer; and to pursue, by methodical observation, social facts. When the mining duties were completed, I sought upon every occasion to complete the observations which are coördinated in *Les ouvriers européens*. After 1848 I employed all the leisure which my public duties left me to observe facts and seek the principles of social science.

During the eight years which came between the recovery of my strength and my appointment to the Chair of Metallurgy in the *École des mines*, several journeys to the center and the south of Spain (Biscay and Catalonia), to Belgium, to England, to

South Russia, to Italy, and to the north and the south of France, began to mature my thought. From this period began the friendships with about one hundred collaborators who helped in the creation of the method. In 1833 my mission, undertaken upon the request of the Spanish Government, was to make a report on a project for a geological map of the peninsula. Here I must mention the lessons given me by the Count of Rayneval, then ambassador from France to Madrid. With infinite kindness M. Rayneval dwelt particularly upon the hostility to paternal authority in the present ideology of France. At that time excellent traits could still be observed in the social constitutions of the central and southern provinces of Spain. These provinces however were not free from ills; the ideas of 1789 had penetrated them. Social antagonism was beginning to show itself in the cities and traces were noticeable in the rural villages. M. Rayneval assured me that it was otherwise in Biscay and in Catalonia. Consequently, I returned in 1834 to visit those two provinces. I found the seven elements of the essential social constitutions to be intact there. As in the Saxon plain the mores and moral forces had preserved their influence. The nobles, farmers, and peasants were united. This *esprit de corps* was greater than that found in the Saxon plain; it was fortified by an affectionate familiarity which exists among all the Spanish social classes. The observation of these valuable examples of social peace and stability kept step with my study of the metallurgic group of Sommorostro in Biscay.

The mission of 1835 was spent in solving a question of tariffs which had arisen among the iron manufacturers of France and Belgium on the frontier between the Sambre and the Moselle. The Belgians justly complained that the price of their cast iron was seriously affected by the excessive duties which prevented sales in France, while the price of the wood employed in manufacturing cast iron was increased by the purchases which the French made freely upon Belgian territory. King Leopold had proposed equalizing the duties, or better still free trade for the cast-iron and lumber businesses. King Louis Philippe was inter-

ested and gave me his personal instructions when I was appointed to the task of making a report upon the question. His Majesty urged me to put the facts so clearly that a satisfactory solution would not be rejected by the Parliament, where the interests of the French owners of forests were then predominant. My report represented the elements of the solution and satisfied both parties.

The social facts collected at the same time were of great value to me. At that time the Belgian middle classes had not completely forgotten the former guarantees of security by their municipal corporations dating from the Renaissance. In the small cities of Luxembourg and of Entre-Sambre-et-Meuse they still endeavored to prevent imprudent grouping and urbanization of the populations. The owners of houses and of contiguous land worked together to that purpose. They secured work for the needy of their cities, but they abstained from all renting and building, the results of which would have been an influx of needy people from the outside. I found valuable information in these middle-class practices. I especially profited from the criticism which the owners made concerning the tendency to grouping already evident among their fellow citizens of the coal mines of Mon, Charleroi, and Liège.

The solution arrived at through my mission of 1835 made a good impression upon the rulers by whom I was employed. It was understood that for certain disputed questions of public administration, written reports made upon "briefs" would not have the effectiveness of a single report made by one man who spent at least six months among those interested. My director foresaw difficulties coming to his administration from the unequal development on both sides of the Channel of the new iron manufactures. Upon his request the Minister in 1836 asked me to undertake, concerning the coal-supplied iron works of England, a study analogous to that I had made on the wood-supplied iron works of Belgium. This journey had many useful results for the three kingdoms; it gave me the experience necessary for the course in metallurgy which I taught in the *École des mines* of

Paris from 1840 to 1855; and more than the preceding studies it introduced me to facts useful to the study of social science.

My sociological knowledge began to increase as soon as I had landed upon English territory. I felt sudden astonishment, and then profound emotion when I observed the strong mores of the English families. During the first month of my journey I lived intimately with a large wealthy London family. Through long conversations with that family I came to understand that obedience to "divine law" had as a basis not only mystical aspirations but also the conviction that the well-being of individuals, the conservation of races, and the prosperity of nations rested upon the punctilious practice of religion and its customs. My hosts belonged to the Anglican Church; but in the course of my journey I found the same beliefs in four families purposely selected from four different religious affiliations: a Presbyterian in Glasgow, a Quaker in Sheffield, a Catholic in Manchester, and an Unitarian in Coed-Dhu (Wales). For a long time I could not explain the cause of the unity of social sentiment in the midst of diversity of religious beliefs. The light came to me finally in London one day in 1862 at a dinner to which I had invited several English Catholics. They called to my attention the fact that the Old Testament was for them more customary reading than it was for their co-religionists of France. In the customs of Great Britain, public respect was addressed not only to law; it was manifest also with regard to paternal authority, religion, and sovereignty.

The English had been less conservative with regard to economic forces. In rural life they had almost destroyed community (common rights) and small individual ownership. The patronage of the large proprietors of estates had been disorganized by long term leases contracted with farmers. Landlord patronage was maintained with its best characteristics only under the régime of leases "at will" and by exploitations administered for the benefit of a trustee. In manufacturing and commercial life the British were abandoning more and more the old customs of patronage under the influence of steam power, machinery, and capital. The

populations subject to this régime soon lost their peace and stability. On the contrary, these benefits had been preserved among their ancestors, the Frisians and the Saxons, in spite of the relative sterility of soil and climate, the limitation of resources, the forced frugality of habits, and the predominance of small home industries. However, British mores were still strong and the constitution was disturbed but little at this time. The suffering of the working classes was rapidly increasing, but the extreme consequences of pauperism were offset by the excellent organization of public welfare. The English avoided dangers that were inherent in the principle of the poor tax by wisely persisting in leaving the administration of it to the landed proprietors who paid it. Moreover, material suffering had been lessened by the severe measures which Parliament had taken to remedy the most crying abuses resulting from the abandonment of patronage in the manufacturing industry. But during my second long visit in 1862, I noticed several new symptoms of disturbance. Public manners were being altered by ideas imported from the Continent. Ideas contrary to tradition and favorable to novelty were beginning to develop with a liberty which would not have been tolerated by public opinion in 1836. Since then, her literature and evolutionary theories seem to have led England toward a religious skepticism similar to that of eighteenth century France.

The mission of 1837 was authorized by the minister of commerce on the request of the Russian Government. Its purpose was the exploration of the carboniferous lands of the Donetz lying upon the right bank of the Don, between the Caspian and the Azof Seas. The journey into southern Russia revealed to me the elements of social science still more than did the preceding trip. This expedition took me rapidly into territories of natural production, the importance of which I did not suspect. It brought me into continuous contact with working populations whose condition was misrepresented by the literature of the west. Through the very exercise of my daily labors, it gave me the opportunity to relate myself to the masters or the rulers and thus understand the actual ideas and feelings which existed among the various

classes of Russian societies. My first impressions upon the question of serfdom completely contradicted my preconceived ideas, and for that reason I remained for a long time somewhat distrustful of myself. I sought the refutation of my new impressions in the observation of facts, but I found only confirmation.

Any ideas which I received were weighed carefully over a period of eighteen years of study. The method of observation was applied constantly to the study of families. The center and the north of the Empire also furnished me with facts. The populations revealed themselves as satisfied with their condition. Owing to a religious teaching which perpetuated certain strong beliefs, they were submissive to the mores, to the sovereign, and to the lords. Thanks to the abundance of natural products they had ample means of livelihood. As in Spain, a respectful familiarity in the workers and benevolence in the masters united the two classes. The churches were the best demonstrations of the spirit which existed in the social constitution of Russia. Even in churches built by a lord, this lord would stand with his family among the peasants and remain near the door when he was the last to arrive. The mores seem to have weakened, however, since the population was emancipated in 1861. Since then they have been exposed, by increasing means of communication, to the invasion of religious skepticism and the innovations of the west.

The great landlords had more inner protection than the masses against the decadence which the emancipation imposed upon the former social constitution of Russia. In their frequent troubles they had become sophisticated and had the necessary experience to protect themselves. Like the ruling classes of England they were prepared to seek the necessary preservatives in religion. Truly noble families knew the advantages of paternal authority. They secured peace and comfort to their families by developing respect for religion and sovereignty. The practice of their duties united all the classes in a common feeling of devotion to the Fatherland. A long acquaintance with these families taught me the origin of patriotism. I saw clearly that the reciprocal dependence of the land owners and the farmers was the strength of

Russia. The spirit of patronage was in reality the principle of the social constitution. It was often hindered by the bureaucratic exaggerations of public administration, but this evil had for its compensation the paternalism which emanates from sovereignty under such a régime. This paternal sentiment became clear to me during the long conversations I had with His Majesty Emperor Nicholas in Crimea in the autumn of 1837 concerning the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the Donetz.

The journey of 1837 made me familiar with the life of the plains. It initiated me into the ideas of the shepherds, who have left a profound influence on the past of Europe and of Asia. My mind was suddenly opened to the knowledge of history and of contemporary facts. Finally, when it had been strengthened by new journeys in England, in the Saxon plain and in Scandinavia, the method of the monograph appeared to me. Each new observation promptly furnished me with conclusions.

In 1843 my apprenticeship in social science was well advanced. The principles of the essential constitutions had all been drawn by inductions from the facts observed. I could not yet formulate them with the clearness which I am now able to give them, but there was no longer any occasion to add anything to them by observing new facts. The family monographs continued to supply me with important details upon the places visited, while the social authorities of those same places no longer taught me anything. The same facts were found during ten new investigations which I undertook in France and abroad, particularly during three long sojourns in England, and two new journeys to Russia, Siberia, and the Asiatic Plains.

On the other hand, I was becoming capable of teaching. At this intermediate period of my labor I did not yield to a pre-conceived idea any more than at the first. Metallurgy was still the single aim of my scientific career, while social science remained an agreeable diversion. Under this inspiration the journeys became the principal subject of my conversations each winter. Certain friends in 1844 pressed me with questions concerning the facts which I had gathered during fifteen years. They understood the

necessity of reforms to neutralize the effect of the anti-social institutions of the Terror. The elaboration of ideas was continued during the four following winters. Those who attended these meetings began to encourage the work. Each undertook to bring his friends to the common ground of social reform. This reform was promulgated by them in private conversations with their friends of the Parliament; with peers, by Montalembert; with the deputies, by Victor Lanjournais and Tocqueville. I kept myself at the disposal of the committee of reform. I was to furnish, in the form in which it would be requested, the material which I had collected. I remained a stranger to all political action. I had planned to devote all my faculties to my special work, *Metallic Arts in the Nineteenth Century*. We were all agreed upon one essential point: the introduction of social reform was pre-eminently the work of peace; it definitely excluded any recourse to violence.

While we were following this path the revolution of February, 1848, changed the direction of our labors and cast trouble into our minds. The dangers which I had feared for five years but had not spoken about came to a head. The disturbances produced in Parisian shops by the Revolution of 1830 were renewed this time on a much larger scale. All work was completely interrupted; and the masters, breaking definitely with the family traditions of France, no longer considered themselves bound to preserve the means of livelihood for their workers. Taken unawares in the presence of a famished people, the new rulers applied the rule proclaimed at the time of the Terror. At the expense of the public treasury, they furnished means of labor to those who were idle. It was difficult to foresee the consequences which the creation of "national shops" were to bring about. Soon a violent conflict appeared inevitable. My friends urged me to intervene. On this occasion they brought a strong moral persuasion to bear upon me. I felt that this would inevitably remove me sooner or later from my metallurgic career.

In May 1848 I discussed my plans with my friends. They insisted especially upon two facts: the public crisis and their

inability to act alone. In vain I argued that the new path upon which we were entering would sooner or later remove me from my career as a mining engineer. The work intrusted to me with the Chair of Metallurgy demanded the employment of all my time. A change in my career would also impose great economic sacrifices upon me. My arguments did not prevail against the opinions of my friends. They persisted in declaring that I was bound to devote myself to "the work of public safety." During this time the danger was increasing. I finally submitted and, on the next day, began the third period of my life.

THE PROPAGATION OF THE METHOD (1848-1879)

The last period of my labors is divided into three distinct parts. From 1848 to 1855, under the pressure of events, I was constrained, little by little, to give up metallurgy. From 1855 to 1870 I devoted all my time to social science, which up to 1848 had been only an accessory work. Having refused a candidacy to the Elective Chamber in 1855 as I had already done in 1838 and in 1848, at the request of Napoleon III I did what I could to propagate the use of the method in the Council of State (*Conseil-d'Etat*) and then in the Senate. Finally, from September 1870 up to the writing of these lines I found the reward of half a century of assiduous labors. I was relieved of the painful burden which had weighed upon me for fifteen years on account of the difficult situation imposed upon my colleagues of the Council and the Senate. These two related bodies represented in the highest degree the intellectual and moral elements of the country. They were moved by devotion to the Fatherland and love for the Sovereign. Unfortunately, public opinion, imbued with false dogmas, did not enable them to provide for the "essential needs" of the people by restoring the "essential constitution." Unable to associate myself with the existing public life, exempt from all preoccupation imposed by the material interests of private life, I enjoyed the satisfactions resulting from the daily acquisition of friends who are devoted to the ideal of truth and to the healing of national

ills. I do not exaggerate the importance which may be attributed to the adhesion of four thousand persons to our *Bibliothèque sociale*.

I sought to make a better use of my time by publishing the second edition of *Les ouvriers européens*, which had been demanded for twenty-three years by the public. In this work I brought out the principles of contemporary reform.

I do not conceal the fact that the results obtained are scarcely in proportion to the half century of labor. However, I have never become discouraged at the paucity of the success. I am still seeking the regeneration of my country.

I succeeded in causing four thousand persons, who are now grouped around the *Bibliothèque sociale*, to accept this doctrine. I dare not hope that I have succeeded as well in demonstrating that the present decadence of France results less from our evils and our errors than from the hatreds which divide us and from the passions which lead us to choose violence as a means of reform. In meditating upon the different results of the revolutions which have followed each other from the fourteenth of July, 1789, I am more and more convinced, in spite of the opinions of our apologists, that each régime instituted by force has been more noxious to France than the régime thus overthrown by force. Moreover, I have personally observed the evils which revolutionary enterprises generate. This observation is the most important discovery in the later period of my life. The reformers who aspire to save the nation must draw the motive for their action from two fundamental facts: the essential needs of men, and the elements of that constitution which we must also call "essential" because in it alone are found the satisfactions of these needs.

From the beginning of my new career (1848) I saw the necessity of these two rules. I entered into public life by taking a part in the conferences of Luxembourg, in which were gathered, with real impartiality and a true sentiment of patriotism, all the economic and social schools which had developed in the midst of the disturbances. I there placed facts in opposition to the preconceived ideas upon which most of the propositions for reform

rested. Owing to peculiar circumstances, I drew my principal arguments from the people of the mines of the Hartz Mountains and of Hungary, which Montesquieu a century before had mentioned as models in one of the rare pages where he makes allusion to the organization of work. I refuted the exaggerations of those mentioned, as remedies for the present ills, either the doctrine of *laissez faire* or the dominating intervention of the state. In order to fill out my program it became necessary to supply by means of new observations the last gap which might exist in the monographs on workers, the material of which had already been gathered together. For this purpose, it became necessary to make a revision in all European studies. Thus, there was imposed upon me a change in my intellectual life.

The next six years were devoted to the carrying out of the obligations which I had contracted. During the summers I completed the study of European populations, dealing with the localities and the families previously visited. During the winters I coördinated all the materials of my last efforts, and devoted the remainder of my spare time to the editing of the work.

The manuscript of the first edition of *Les ouvriers européens* was completed in October, 1854. For this edition, I had originally adopted the plan to which I returned in the second. With the help of the materials relative to the three hundred families observed for a quarter of a century, I had selected thirty-six monographs which were sufficient to illustrate the principles of social reform for our country. Each monograph was accompanied by inductions suggested by the analysis. The entire work led to a statement of the customs and institutions which were seen to be indispensable to the existence of any prosperous society. During the six preceding winters my friends had followed and discussed the work with me. They were unanimous in the approbation which they gave to the final results. Recognizing that I had accomplished the task which the program of July, 1848, imposed upon me, they prepared at once to perform their part. It was then that difficulties arose on all sides.

These difficulties extended far beyond what I had foreseen

when I adopted my new career, but I did not allow myself to be discouraged. I felt that the method of observation applied in the domain of social science had enabled me to find solid ground similar to the scientific truths prevailing in the domain of metallurgy. I did not think for a moment of turning back. I saw clearly that my new task would be less likely to interest me than the former. However, I understood at the same time that it would be more useful to my country.

While I was visiting again the families I had observed in Europe, a very grave change was taking place. The Imperial Régime had remained after the Revolution of December, 1851. Its benevolent impulses had been suddenly stopped, however, by the sight of blood spilt by the four reformist—traditional parties. My friends had maintained the strong convictions which they had acquired but they found themselves helpless. In vain did they claim the aid which had been promised them by those in power. During the three years which had followed the violence of 1848, the men whom the cataclysm had temporarily associated together had fallen again into their former state of discord. The masses who earned their bread by daily labor were no longer willing to listen, for, if they had warmly adhered to the re-establishment of the Empire, it was in order to be relieved of the responsibility of preserving public peace. In the minority which considered itself bound to serve the general interests of the country, three parties had become hostile to the one in power; they were finally inclined to overthrow it rather than to assist it in its efforts for reform. In a word, those to whom I brought the ammunition considered necessary for the army of reform were only chiefs without soldiers. The inopportune use of violence had not only disorganized the personnel of this army but it had also disturbed the rulers.

My friends had not been disturbed. They remained convinced that the facts summed up in the thirty-six monographs demonstrated the necessity of reform, and that consequently it was urgent to propagate knowledge of them among the people at any price. They unreservedly approved the conclusions which I had drawn from the monographs. However, they held that the simultaneous

publication of the facts and of the inductions in the first edition of the work be premature. The conclusions of *Les ouvriers européens* were established logically, but the public mind was not ready. We would be driven from the goal if we were too eager to state the conclusions. Preconceptions would condemn the work without examination. We would displease the public. The success of the work would be endangered if we created an embarrassing situation for the members of the Academy of Science of Paris, who, having followed my labors, wished to point out the scientific character of the method and claim the indispensable aid of the imperial printing press for the printing of the tables. I yielded not without regret to the judicious advice of my friends, I reduced the text to the passages which were strictly indispensable for the understanding of the monographs. However, I subjoined a short appendix to the monographs which indicated that in the whole of Europe, the method had enabled me to find the eternal traditions of humanity.

My silence accelerated rather than retarded the advance toward reform. My submission before the existence of the evil exempted me from taking part in the useless struggles of the press, and thus becoming the agent of new discords. Reserving all my time for the impartial search for truth, I acquired the experience necessary to guide those of my fellow-citizens who were led in the same direction more by national disasters than by my writings. I inspired their confidence in the method of observation by showing that the results were preferable to those furnished by the elaboration of preconceived ideas. I have often noticed the usefulness of patience while living among a people led astray, less by sensual vice and feelings of shame, than by patriotic devotion to the benefits expected from false dogmas. If I have decided now to give my conclusions to the public it is because their teaching can be propagated today without troubling social peace.

TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL REFORM

The events of 1870 had the wholesome influence which usually results from national disasters. To avoid the return of these, the

most zealous public men desired to inform themselves or to teach. Unfortunately, they had allowed themselves to be invaded by ignorance, and, in spite of their willingness, they were not able to satisfy their desires. They went astray by first taking the wrong direction. Instead of learning from the well-informed, certain men have spent their devotion in vain. Since 1871, in fact, they have instituted ephemeral associations for mutual guidance, or else they have published a mass of books which have never been read. Belief in the effectiveness of the written word, which today is leading astray the systems of education organized for the youth, has not been less futile in its efforts at social betterment. The growing importance attributed to the written word among complex races is not due to the spontaneous preference of the fathers of families; it is imposed upon them each day by their inability to provide for the education of their children.

In early times the knowledge of societies was transmitted to the successive generations by the oral teaching of the father and by the daily relationships of the family. To this day, the shepherds of Asia, like the coast-fishermen of the extreme north, employ the same system of teaching. Even among the grouped races of ancient Greece, where the teaching of the schools rested largely upon reading, they still appreciated the words of the master at their true value. In a period of corruption which greatly resembled ours, when the art of writing had reached a high degree of perfection, the school of Socrates furnished irrefutable evidence that the word of the wise man is more influential than the works of the man of letters.

This axiom of wisdom becomes more and more true as societies become more complex. In the present state of the west, for example, we could not find two writers who would agree in expressing in the same terms all the elements of social truth. These disagreements are the inevitable consequence of the preconceived errors which are misleading many authors. Numerous causes of divergence exist even in the authors themselves; these are the inequalities emanating from the individual differences which create personality.

The weakness of books comes also from more profound causes which are independent of the author or the reader. Complex societies could not find an adequate guide in a book written by the wisest man. From the time of its appearance, however complete it might be, this book could not answer all the questions raised by the numerous incidents of social life. The prosperity of a people always brings about a rapid transformation of needs, means of living, customs, and ideas. Soon the book, which has remained unchanged since its publication, is no longer in harmony with the new circumstances. The book is no longer a guide for keeping the state of peace. Sooner or later the diversity of individual interpretations caused by social changes and the consequent modification of men brings about discord under the new régime.

The transmission of social science is best assured when the friends of the truth group themselves around the wise man best able to guide them. Thus knowledge is constantly transformed to fit changed circumstances. By this slow evolution, always taking place at the opportune moment, science is kept up-to-date and is transmitted without shock. It is useless to sum up knowledge in a book; at most, this book, if written, is merely ancillary to the teaching of the scholar. To sum up, *social science is truly transmitted only by the scholar who lives it for the earnest men who listen to him.* Institutions of this nature have existed at all times among rich, educated and powerful societies, and they have ordinarily been given a public character. I shall indicate later how the method of observation furnishes the means of organizing, in private life, groups which are capable of following social science in its incessant transformations. These groups cannot pretend to replace the public institutions which tend toward the same goal. They have this advantage, however, that they cannot have a bad influence without failing.

About 1848 a few men in Paris conceived the idea of bringing together and coördinating the truths of social science by a scientific method. After the disasters of 1848 they associated themselves still more closely with my studies. Finally, in 1856, when the Academy of Sciences of Paris had awarded the statistical prize

to the first edition of the *Les ouvriers européens*, they helped me to found, with the assistance of several members of that Academy, the *Société internationale des études pratiques d'économie sociale*. This was the first positive institution to give itself to the propagation of the method of observation applied to social science.

Since then national disasters have multiplied and increased material suffering. On the other hand, numerous men have been brought to the truth, through suffering itself and through their observations. Moved by strong convictions, which they owe less to teaching than to the facts about them, they are restoring the spirit of tradition to private life. The work performed by the *Société d'économie* has brought about the organization of the *Comité de la bibliothèque sociale*, the *Unions de la paix sociale*, the *Annuaire de l'économie sociale et des unions*, the provincial conferences in France and foreign countries, and finally the valuable teaching groups organized in Paris and constituting the *École de la science sociale*.

The *Société internationale des études pratiques d'économie sociale* was founded in 1856. The founders agreed that the society sought two chief goals: to undertake world-wide studies, which until then had scarcely gone beyond the limits of Europe; to make known the facts observed by the method of family monographs, and to discuss the lessons derived from the analyses. The society proposed to publish the monographs on workers and the facts of all kinds which these studies revealed. It reserved the right, moreover, to include in its plan of publication the discussion provoked in the annual meeting.

The society gives entire freedom to the opinions offered by the authors of the documents presented and to those who contradict them, but in this matter it disavows all responsibility. In no way does it decide between the true and the false. The meetings have an essentially private character. By special deliberation the council of administration authorizes the admission of strangers. They have often been permitted to set forth facts duly observed and to take part in the discussions. The council has at times invited this co-operation from strangers who were selected because of their

recognized ability. This tolerance would come to an end if its effect were to disturb the peace of the meetings. The society has never taken part in the irritating debates of our time; it has been faithful to the work of that science which the evidence of the facts upholds.

The Comité de la bibliothèque sociale. Books scarcely have the power to modify the ideas and customs of corrupted societies. However, in certain unfortunate periods they may become useful helps. In 1855 the first edition of *Les ouvriers européens* filled this modest rôle. It was a means of support for the men who were not reassured by the apparent prosperity of the Second Empire, and who, besides, remained faithful to the spirit of reform brought into being by the two disasters of 1848. Emperor Napoleon III read this work as soon as the judgment of the Academy of Science was known to him. Influenced by M. de Morny, his most able councilor in these matters, he showed favor to this work. The Emperor conceived the desire for social reform as much as did my friends. He was confident in the success of my book which I was far from sharing. For three years he recommended the reading of it to certain men who immediately secured it, but who scarcely read it. Finally the Emperor, seeing the indifference and even the resistance to reform upon the part of those who were associated with him, recognized that the obstacle was to be found in the false ideas often proclaimed in his court as the principles of his government. He was thus brought to regret that mistaken opinion had not permitted me to maintain, in the first edition, the conclusions which he found justified by the study of the prosperous peoples among whom he had resided in his exile. Noticing that resistance was growing, he did not cease until the fall of the Empire to invite me to supplement the publication by smaller books. Under this benevolent pressure I published successfully *La réforme sociale*, *L'organisation du travail*, and *L'organisation de la famille*. Thus the *Bibliothèque sociale* was formed. "

In 1869, in agreement wth the council of administration of the *Société d'économie sociale*, I planned to add to this collection.

From this time we applied ourselves to furnishing the books at the lowest possible price to those institutions devoted to public welfare which would give themselves to propagating the teaching of the method of observation and the knowledge of its results. In order to reach this goal we accepted the offers of a famous publishing house of Tours. This house assumed the responsibility of printing successive editions of our works and of selling them to the public at cost. On our part, we promised to present the manuscripts to the editors free and to claim no royalties on the sales.

The friends of social science naturally grouped themselves around the library thus constituted. They correspond with the treasurer and the secretary. To the first, they sent their request for books; to the second, they communicated their desires or their observations upon the composition of the works.

The Comité de la bibliothèque sociale applied itself to satisfying all the interests which they thus brought together. Besides, as I shall show later, it presented desirable guarantees against abuses which are latent in every human institution. Wise men who teach the truths of social science by word of mouth secure the books necessary to them, but they are not the slaves of the printed word. The owners of the books have the liberty they need in order to express in terms of their own choice the truths deduced from the method; they feel also the necessity of expressing all their supplementary thoughts. This state of harmony has never been disturbed since the origin of the institution.

The *Unions de la paix sociale*. Among the clients of the library committee we may name first the *Unions de la paix sociale*. I gave in *Les ouvriers européens* a description of this means of reform. I am going to speak here more especially of the mechanism of the institution.

The *Unions de la paix sociale* drew their inspiration both from national custom and from the good examples presented by other countries. In various European countries, the primary problem is a matter of re-establishing the elements of peace and stability according to the conditions and with the means which are best suited to the present time. Each union, either French or foreign, began

its work by co-operating with a library committee and by profiting from the labors that are already coördinated in its books. In principle, the union is bound to no program; in point of fact, it agrees with its neighbors in order to put into practice the following rules: to reject all thought of violence in the execution of reforms that are deemed necessary; to avoid all participation in the sterile debates engendered today by questions of nationality, politics, and religion; to make this moderation easy for the enthusiastic men who associate themselves with the cause of the good; and, finally, to help them discover for themselves, through the practice of the method, the means of recovering peace. The unions are constantly being strengthened by publishing the facts observed by their members. They thus daily reveal more and more the eternal truths which give satisfaction to the two "essential needs" of the people and bring men to recognize the value of the "essential constitution." They simultaneously employ all the means of peaceful propaganda to achieve their aims.

In order to perpetuate their work, the unions ask no support from the privileges which public powers confer. They hold themselves ready to communicate to those rulers who wish them the facts which they have gathered but they do not extend their personal action beyond the limits of private life.

About 1874 the unions were grouped around the library committee. Emancipated soon afterward upon the urgent invitations of the committee, the local unions began to complete, by their writings, the books which the central library continued to furnish them. The members of the unions, as long as they remained small in number, spontaneously grouped themselves around one of their colleagues. This member is chosen to fill a special function; he corresponds with the committee in the name of his colleagues. Finally, each member secures directly from the other French or foreign unions the information which is useful for the pursuit of his own labors.

In France, especially, the unions use the newspapers of their locality for the propagation of the teaching of social truths. Moreover, the members, having some leisure at their disposal, prepare

themselves to imitate the example given by a Belgium Union : they work together to collect the materials and the personnel for a new low-priced weekly paper. The members thus associated aim especially at informing themselves in order to become worthy of teaching the less educated classes. For certain countries these efforts seem to be the prelude to an intellectual transformation. They will replace the futile reading of the well-to-do classes with serious study, and they will secure useful information for the families whose intellectual development rests today only upon the naïve, sometimes coarse, literature of the almanacs.

The founding of the new weekly paper is at this time the subject of my conversation with the competent members of French or foreign unions who do me the honor of visiting me, either to give me information or to seek my counsel. The sentiment from which this new movement derives is as old as humanity ; it is the devotion which leads the possessors of knowledge to instruct the ignorant. The true historians of our time are beginning to find traces of this virtue in the past. During my journeys I gathered a thousand indications of its useful action, and since my attention dwells more readily on this detail of reform I learn that in this regard marvelous examples exist in the history of our own country. I find myself thus led once again to the conviction which the most ardent father of the American democracy expressed : that the natural aristocracy of private life is the true ruling class. Believing this, I cannot too strongly recommend a work which, as it grows, will extend to the country the benefits of education now secured by the cities. Rural and urban families, enjoying a certain amount of leisure and understanding the danger of the present situation, are working together to restore in men's hearts attachment to the customs of the good periods and to move against the current of vice and error in which the French have been plunged for two centuries. These families are preparing to create a small local newspaper in order to add some strength to their oral discussions. In the presence of the passions and misunderstandings that spread daily, they are not deceived concerning the weakness of their enterprise.

To sum up, those who plan to found the new weekly paper do not hope easily to regain any great influence over the perverted, deceived, or justly discontented populations. They propose, before all, to say their own *mea culpa* and to reform themselves. The plan which they are elaborating will be developed through the correspondence of the library. In France, as in Belgium, the members of the local unions who tend to establish themselves on these bases are moved by a simple idea which would not entail the usual disappointments belonging to the great enterprises of the periodic press. In order to make themselves capable of teaching others, they wish first to search, in the documents of the past and in the observation of contemporary models, for the causes which formerly brought well-being to the nation, to the province, and to the locality. From the present, by means of these researches, pursued within the circle of relatives or friends, they are obtaining a desirable complement to former habits of work and sociability. They want to create their weekly organ under conditions so modest that they may be able to bear the annual expense indefinitely. They will thus be able to wait patiently for the populations to return to the truth, led by the influence of a teaching which will be improved daily and by observation of the social suffering which sooner or later will follow our present errors.

CHAPTER XXX

Résumé and Conclusions

From the earliest ages of history in different regions of the globe two kinds of society have existed simultaneously; one type enjoys well-being founded upon peace and stability and the other suffers great discomfort with instability and discord as symptoms. These opposite conditions continue, being modified with infinite shadings in each society.

The most familiar trait in the varied picture of human history is the passage from peace to discord or, in other words, from prosperity to suffering. The frequency of this transformation is explained by the influence of three social phenomena. Prosperous races form slowly under the influence of essential constitutions. They grow upon territories where natural subsistence is abundant. Unknown to the commercial peoples who are writing history, they multiply in a condition of well-being. Later, placed in contact with historical peoples, they become rich, learned, and strong as long as they remain submissive to their essential constitutions. They acquire renown and sometimes brilliancy, but almost always in this period they begin to decay. In general they move toward decadence by bringing from the fruits of prosperity three causes of suffering. From riches they secure vice; from learning, error; and, finally, from force, error, vice, and all the abuses of novelty (rapid social change).

THE PRESENT SUFFERING IN EUROPE

For half a century I have observed these movements in Europe and in the countries contiguous to Asia. At the beginning of my travels in 1829 prosperity was general in the west. The discord that resulted in France and in the west after the Revolution of 1789 was momentarily calmed by 1815. It resumed its possession

of minds through the schools. The Revolution of 1830 disorganized a neighboring kingdom and spread the seeds of suffering.

The Revolution of 1848 extended this transformation in Europe. It spread the spirit of discord to the lower subdivisions of society. After three explosions of violence Paris was chosen by all the enthusiastic leaders of Europe as the favorite place for the dissemination of these errors.

Served by rapid means of communication, this source of evil exercised an irresistible influence upon all localities which did not possess exceptional powers of resistance. Today in Europe there are only four oases of peace and stability. Now the west is the principal center of contagion, but unexpected changes are before us. The evil is now being propagated from the west to the east. In the east it becomes aggravated because the naïve faith of the populations which it overtakes has not given them the strength of experience necessary to resist the corruption. For sixteen years of labor on the eastern frontiers of Europe I studied the conditions of stability and peace of those simple populations. I now learn that forms of discord, unknown before to our western populations, are developing rapidly among them. *Would it not seem that a counter current of evil is going to be produced in eastern Europe?* In the future might we not have movements of "enlightenment" from the Ural regions to the Atlantic? The disorganization will come back from the east to the west.

THE ESSENTIAL PROBLEM OF PROSPERITY

Happy societies are occupied with satisfying the two "essential needs" of the individual: a knowledge of the essential mores, and daily bread. Model societies solve this problem by customs which seem to have infinite variety according to locality. However, analysis of the detailed customs of each society in the periods when it lived in stability and peace shows that these customs are all derived from a small number of principles. These I classify into three groups. Two fundamentals, the respect of the universal moral code and the rule of paternal authority, form the base. Re-

ligion and sovereignty are necessary cements to uphold these basic formulae. The structure consists of property regulations under three régimes: the community, the individual, and the patron. These seven institutions are sufficient and necessary. United they form the "essential constitution" of a prosperous society.

The races which preserve unchanging happiness remain for the most part in the condition of their ancestors. They reveal themselves to a contemporary under one or the other of two régimes. The simplest is that of communities organized like a large family. It is composed of families descended from an eponymous ancestor. If in that organization a judicious system of emigration is organized for the excess population, the means of subsistence are sufficiently supplied by the natural products of the land and water. Among the nations thus constituted the families scattered upon the land do not have to labor so hard for subsistence as do members of complex nations. Youth and middle age furnish ample labor power for the harvest, fishing, hunting, and other occupations necessary to the conquest of daily bread. They give themselves to these duties with enthusiasm, exempting the aged heads of families from work. The fathers enjoy the leisure necessary for meditation on the moral codes and on the rights and reciprocal duties of those who live under their authority. The functions of the government naturally fall to the fathers because these unite in their persons the necessary aptitudes. The fathers not only bring peace and stability during their lifetime but select the heirs whom they judge worthy of perpetuating these conditions among the descendants.

The second régime consists of a complex society or an entanglement of small families thickly grouped and descended from diverse ancestors. The territory is no longer composed entirely of localities each named after a family, but of political districts. The means of subsistence are supplied in increasing proportion by the labor of the woodsmen, miners, agriculturists, manufacturers, industrialists, traders, and workers in the liberal arts.¹ The large families of the simple races form only a minority. The personnel of the other families is reduced to the lowest number consistent with the

survival of the society. The fathers are obliged to provide for the material existence of all. Bowed under the weight of labor, they become more or less incapable of teaching the moral code to their families and of maintaining peace and stability in the home and in the workshop. Prosperity continues only if the organization of the society undergoes a change which supplements the weakness of the majority of the fathers of families with carefully chosen priestly and secular officials. When moved by a sentiment known as the spirit of paternity, these preserve virtue in private and in political life by keeping the traditions of the moral law and by obeying diverse rules instituted by custom. Successive generations may continue to prosper by respecting these traditions.

Simple and prosperous societies still abound upon the plateaus of central Asia, the shores of the Arctic Ocean, and in the forest of northern America. They remain in the initial state of simplicity and well-being because they are preserved from all contact with outsiders. They do not form new "needs" nor undergo impressions which disturb their mores. So long as there is an opening for emigration, they live in abundance. The individuals are so much attached to their social constitution that they lose their *élan de vie*, or interest in life, if well meaning but misguided attempts are made to foist upon them conditions even of the most prosperous complex races. In a word, the simple races possess in themselves all the conditions of permanent happiness.

THE DANGER OF SUFFERING IMMINENT AMONG ALL COMPLEX RACES

Simple societies are scarcely known by the rest of the world because their activities are carried on in localities far from the great commercial highways. Many faculties of the human mind lie dormant in the scattered families. The rare travelers who observe them generally misinterpret their behavior. Complex races, on the contrary, develop their talents and virtues in all branches of activity. They excite the admiration of the world by the marvels which emanate from their urban aggregations. Their

great achievements are in the accumulation of riches, in science, and in the use of force. The extraordinary progress achieved in material order and the "progressive" implications which the innovators draw from it lead many to believe that, in principle, the complex societies assure greater prosperity to nations and happiness to individuals.

This has never been so in the past nor is it manifestly true today. Suffering is all the more imminent when the appearances of national prosperity are more evident. The riches, luxury, science and art, power, and military grandeur in France under the personal government of Louis XIV and Napoleon I exceeded anything the modern world had seen. But what were the results of these marvels even before the ends of these two reigns?

In the midst of these rapid fluctuations between good and evil, suffering remains the principal trait of our history. The heads of working families do not have the leisure necessary to assure the practices essential to the moral and physical well-being of their descendants. The families which have leisure are deprived of functions in the local government and are degraded by idleness, luxury or vice. Those who retain some respect for the moral law leave to masters chosen outside of the families the responsibility of teaching it to their children.

This human failure is not confined to any particular country. It is a conspicuous trait in the history of famous peoples. This is one of the great lessons of history. The complex societies which call themselves "civilized" claim an absolute superiority over the contemporary simple peoples, the "savages" or "barbarians." But the complex societies of Europe are dominated by attacks against the essential constitutions by the spirit of stability and peace continues to reign. This real social superiority of simple races is one of the most persistent traits of history. The shepherds, descendants of whom still live east and west of the Nile, were able to invade and to restore both virtue and peace in ancient Egypt. The Mongol and the Manchu shepherds did the same for China until the deplorable expedition of the Anglo-French army in 1860.

I do not for one moment hold that contemporary European culture can change its primary worship of wealth, intelligence, and force. But I think it necessary to point out that in social science there is nothing to invent. The only means of salvation for societies disturbed or disorganized by the complexity of social life appears to be an increasing emphasis upon the essential constitution. By such we can reduce some of the abuses of contemporary society.

Unless a complex society is conquered by simpler peoples, reform is a slow and pacific action. It forms an absolute contrast with the prompt and energetic procedures applied to corruption in ancient Egypt and Rome, or which, in the modern period, have regenerated the Chinese Empire several times. The Shepherds who reformed these empires constituted scattered races completely separate from the peoples which they were to reform. They possessed military forces inspired by strong mores and fortified by daily exercise. They had fertility, the natural consequence of family life, and easy subsistence. They dreaded the dangers of the excessive aggregation of families. The disorganization of famous races enriched by commerce, corrupted by the abuses of luxury, weakened by domestic hatreds and by the civil wars emanating from error and vice, solved the problem of emigration. Yielding to the attractions of pillage and conquest, the trains of emigrants preceded by numerous troops of cavalry implanted themselves in the midst of unorganized populations. After having subdued them by force, the conquering race brought peace by the example of their customs.

According to the times, force, teaching, or example have successively been employed as means of reform. The suffering of complex races has been remedied only by those who kept or found again the tradition of the essential constitution. This is the problem of social science.

At a period when intellectual and moral life among the Athenians was profoundly disturbed, Plato recommended to them to go "by land and by sea" to seek virtue among "divine men" in all countries. Montaigne considered traveling necessary to the educa-

tion of a nobility worthy of the name. But he reproached the nobility which the last Valois had corrupted for wasting this means of improvement in futile observations. After the disturbance introduced by two revolutions into the ideas and the customs of England, Locke mentioned the study of a foreign language and the conversation of men who speak it as a means of bringing the youth back to wisdom and prudence.

The mores of certain Europeans and of the Asiatics contiguous to the frontier of Europe can furnish today all the information necessary to travelers who wish to seek in the observation of societies the means of resolving present discords and restoring social peace. In stating the facts which I have myself observed, I have indicated generally two categories : prosperous societies which conserve interior peace without assistance from an armed force ; and suffering peoples which could not get along without such assistance. However as a result of my observations made over half a century, I hold that it is less important to study all the shadings of contemporary societies than to concentrate one's attention upon the extreme types. I advise the friends of reform to visit three kinds of races principally : the two kinds of model races who enjoy social peace under the two opposite régimes of simplicity and complexity, and the races among whom the state of discord extends even to disorganization.

The model and complex races have often played a conspicuous rôle in Europe. They may be observed today in the Scandinavian states, upon the maritime shores lying between the Baltic and the Rhine, in the Alps of the six small Swiss Cantons, and in the mountains of the Basque country. The people there still enjoy peace, but they are far from remaining in the state of equality which belongs to simple races. Inequality comes especially from the aggregating of families. Some are proprietors under the three régimes of ownership. The others are completely deprived of property aside from the home itself. However, each head of a family secures an assured means of subsistence by exploiting one of the eight branches of customary trades and the numerous categories of liberal arts. He no longer has to govern large patriarchal

communities. He has under his authority only a stem-family composed of aged parents, the heir, and his children. In these conditions of societies the fathers are obliged to devote all their time to the securing of the daily food. In order to supply the needs of a growing population the territory is constantly transformed. Stability no longer exists in material organization, but it persists in the moral order. The clergy and the governing classes see to this.

An aggregated or grouped race, even when prosperous, never has the satisfaction which the feeling of dignity and independence gives to scattered races. However, it often has a material wealth which is the admiration of its neighbors. At times, under this régime of aggregation, a society attains that extraordinary development of riches, science, and force which is considered by historians as the most enviable of conditions.

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